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VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

TO

INDIA, CEYLON, THE RED SEA,

ABYSSINIA, AND EGYPT,

IN

THE YEARS 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, AND 1806.

BY

GEORGE, VISCOUNT VALENTIA.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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CHAPTER I.

MR. SALT'S NARRATIVE CONTINUED.

Departure from Dixan.—Journey thence to Abha.—Agowma.—Chelicut.—Arrival at Antalow.—First Interview with the Ras.—Transactions at Antalow.

Vol. III.

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THE KING'S SEAT AT AXUM.

CHAPTER I.

"AUGUST 14, 1805. ALTHOUGH at day light I urged our people to make all expedition, it was nine o'clock before the baggage was properly arranged, when we left Dixan on our way to Antalow. We had the satisfaction of finding our mules not inferior to those that brought us to Dixan.

"We passed the church to our right, and then proceeded over a rocky hill, at the foot of which were some small vallies, and beyond them a village called Hadawe. We had scarcely passed this latter place, when we were followed by some of its inhabitants, who much wished us to halt there; among these was one of the Bahar-

negash's sons, named Socinius, whose urgent anxiety to prevail upon us, evidently shewed how much he was interested in our detention. We however pressed forward, passing over the plain of Zarai, which strongly reminded me of the Vale of Evesham in Worcestershire. The whole was in a high state of cultivation, and disposed in ridges for the convenience of irrigating the land. A little farther on, we passed a clear brook running down the middle of the valley, on the bank of which a party of travellers were resting themselves. We also saw here an Abou Gumba, and many Guinea fowls. Hence we began to wind round the side of the mountain, which makes a very conspicuous object in the view from Dixan; and soon came in sight of another village on our left, called Adishud, on a very lofty hill, that would form a good situation for a fort. Immediately in front of us, at about the distance of three miles, was the village of Adioolta, placed as conspicuously as the one beforementioned. A large Daroo tree stands in the middle of the plain, near which we were not a little surprised at meeting with a band of musicians, who immediately ran forward before us, blowing their trumpets and beating their drums, so as to make a most discordant concert. There being some appearance of rain, our guides conducted us towards Adioolta, where we were met by another Baharnegash, for so they call every head man of a town. We were not received by him with much civility, and he appeared very unwilling that we should enter his territory. In a short time however he relaxed, and at length shewed us to his house; but our treatment there was so unsatisfactory, that, when our baggage approached, we were glad to hasten away.

"The inhabitants of this place are all, nominally, Christians, and

they acknowledge no authority except that of their head man. The village and its vicinity exhibited every appearance of neatness and plenty, and the valley below was well cropped, especially with Indian corn, which is usually more forward, in this climate, than any other grain. The people manufacture a particular kind of coarse cloth, from the wool and hair of their sheep and goats; they first spin the materials into small ropes, instead of threads, and these, when sewed together, make a covering like a quilt. The woman of the house retained great remains of beauty, and had two fine children in her arms, plump and healthy. We descended thence through the cultivated grounds nearly in a southerly direction, leaving on our right a lofty hill not unlike that of Riacotta, in the Baramaal country. A material alteration now began to take place in the vegetation; the kolqual became less frequent, and the whole face of the country was again covered with acacias, the verdure of which, and the freshness of the turf, composed a scene very like some of our forests in England. We passed another very large Daroo tree, growing by the side of a brook, the wide spreading branches of which covered a space of at least three hundred feet in circumference. Our guides were very unwilling that we should take up our quarters under it for the night, lest we should be seriously incommoded by the expected overflowing of the brook; and indeed its roots, bared to a great extent, by former torrents, shewed that this apprehension was by no means without foundation. In consequence we proceeded two miles farther, to the village of Bakauko, where we halted, having been overtaken by the rain just before we reached it. Our lodging was a place that in England would scarcely have served for a cow-shed; but the civility of the people,

who brought us goats, and plenty of milk and honey, made it more comfortable than a better place would have proved with less hospitality. The rain continued very heavy till evening.

"August 15.—That part of our baggage, which for want of a sufficient number of mules we were obliged to have conveyed by men, arrived in the morning under the care of our friend Guebra Michael. We were yesterday joined by a female Hadjee, or pilgrim, who had spent three years at Mecca, and was on her return to the distant country of the Galla. It was, I suppose, on account of the sanctity acquired by this long pilgrimage, that one of our chiefs, who was himself a Hadjee, treated her with much respect, and shared his coffee with her.

"The Baharnegash of Dixan arrived at nine o'clock to take his leave; he informed us that he should make haste to the presence of the Ras, where he expected to arrive in three days, and would send on for more mules for our accommodation. He told us that he dared not accompany us farther, having had a skirmish sometime back with a neighbouring tribe, in which many of the opposite party had fallen; he, however, left his son Guebra Michael to proceed with us two days journey on our way. We paid, by the advice of our guides, six dollars to the people of the house where we lodged, and were by no means pleased to find that they were extremely dissatisfied with so ample a recompense. At half past ten we were on our way, and having passed on the left the village of Maroko, built on a hill of moderate height, we found ourselves in a plain interspersed with hillocks. Here Captain Rudland shot a goose, and an Abou Gumba; the former, through the idleness of our people, escaped; the latter we carried on to Asceriáh.

The country was in a good state of cultivation, and many villages appeared on the hills around; Murgah was on our right, Mandoobah opposite to it on our left; and beyond, on a much loftier hill, was the Hadowé mentioned by Bruce.

" Soon after we made our way through a grove of wild olive trees, and afterwards along the edge of a tremendous precipice, looking directly down into a gulley, in which were small pools of water, but no running stream. We then descended, and passed along the bed of the torrent for some distance; a shower of rain overtook us, but it was over before we had ascended the hill on which stands the village of Asceriáh. At this place we were received with great coolness by the inhabitants; they offered us no shelter but that which a tree afforded, and we were for some time apprehensive that this would be our only accommodation for the night. At length, however, an old man received us into his house, which was a better one, and more abounding in family conveniences, than any which we had seen before. I took here a view of the mountains, which are extremely wild in their forms; and a sketch of the Abou Gumba, of which Bruce has given a very correct representation.

" August 16.—We were awakened at a very early hour in the morning by Negada Moosa, who seemed anxious to hurry us away from this inhospitable place; I call it so, from the difficulty that we found in procuring even water for our consumption. One man only, superior to his neighbours in civility, brought us a small portion of milk. We soon left our baggage behind, but had not got far before we were overtaken by a party of men, one of whom, we were given to understand, was the chief of the place that we had

quitted. He employed all his eloquence to prevail on us to return, which however we resisted, both on account of the inhospitable treatment we had experienced, and because we were well assured that his present importunity arose only from his fears of Ras Welleta Selassé, and not from a real desire to atone for his former neglect.

"The mountain of Geshen was far on our left hand, when we made a rapid descent northward into the fine plain of Tushalloo, which is fully six miles in length, and about two in breadth. The village of Addagé, belonging to Kantiba Socinius, overlooks it from a rising ground on the right, as Nissom and Menju do on the left. It is interspersed with Tombo trees, which in appearance are not unlike the mulberry tree. To the north was pointed out to us the district of the Sewarré, and the villages of Adowmo and Diggé; opposite to the last is another called Ambullah. From Asceriáh we had been going nearly north-west, on account of the impassable mountains to the south; but we now turned off over a rising ground to the south, and, passing Bat'ha, soon reached Abha, the residence of the Baharnegash Subhart. We were very cordially received by the old man in a small house, built under the brow of a projecting rock, that completely sheltered it from the inclemencies of the weather. He was seated on a couch surrounded by his attendants, and almost enveloped in a long white mantle with a red border and fringe. He was small in person, with a face deeply marked with the furrows of age. We found here that much more attention was paid to form than at Dixan. The mode of salutation in use is to present the hand, and afterwards kiss the back of it twice; no person is permitted to go into the presence of the Baharnegash

without uncovering to the waist, nor is he addressed by any one except in a whisper, with the mouth covered and applied close to his ear. Soon after we had been seated, he gave us plenty of hydromel, and seemed to think that we did not make sufficiently free, though some of our party were so complaisant, as to drink two brulhes* full; he also treated us with cakes covered with curds. He told me that he was originally much attached to Ras Michael Suhul, and supplied him with a large tribute in kind, but having had some disturbance with a neighbouring tribe, the Ras came with an army and burned down the whole of his town. It had been afterwards rebuilt by him, but was destroyed a second time, and for a similar reason, by Ras Welleta Sclassé, about eight years ago: he farther mentioned, that he was at Gondar before the war broke out between Ras Michael Suhul and Waragna Fasil, and that his brother was present at the battle of Damot, fought between those parties. He was very urgent that we should spend the ensuing day with him, it being one of their fast days, promising, on our compliance, to see us safe on our way to the Ras. Gucbra Eyut, a boy belonging to the Ras, having mentioned to our servants that the hope of obtaining a handsome present was the only reason for the Baharnegash's pressing our stay, and that he knew the Ras was most anxious for our arrival at Antalow, I sent for Hadjee Hamed and Negada Moosa, and after some conversation resolved to follow their advice, which was to take my departure the next morning; when I informed the Baharnegash of my intention, he remonstrated much against it, but with politeness, and promised to send his son to attend us.

* Venetian glass decanters holding about a pint.

" I walked up to the church in the evening, which is partly excavated out of the side of the rock: the road to it is winding and steep, and so difficult of access, that I fear it has but few visitors; unless the inhabitants of the place are more devout than they appear to be. The view from it amply repaid us for our trouble, as we thereby gained a distinct prospect of the valley which we had passed in the morning, beyond which was a fine range of rugged rocks and mountains, rising behind each other at a great distance, until they were lost in the clouds. The opposite side of the hill was thickly covered with houses, rocks, and trees, and formed so very interesting and characteristic a scene, that I sat down on a rock to sketch it, but had not time enough, before the evening came on, to do it justice.

" Our fare this day was abundant, having been provided by this " nobleman," as Bruce terms one of his predecessors, with five sheep and plenty of maise, of a much superior quality to what we met with at Dixan. Maise is a liquor made of honey, fermented with barley, and strengthened with a bitter root called taddo; it is called hydromel by Bruce, and mead by Poncet: the latter has accurately described the process of making it. (Vide note page 218 in Lockman's translation, published at London 1743.) Mussulmauns as well as Christians seemed to enjoy this beverage, and some of the former found it necessary to sleep away the rapid effects of it on their senses.

August 17.—Early in the morning the Baharnegash brought me a cow and some honey, hinting his expectation of my making him a present in return: this I evaded on the plea, that, as I was going to the Ras, I was not furnished with presents for any other

person, but, that if he wished to be paid for what we had received, I must refer him to Hamed Chamie, to whom I had entrusted every arrangement of this nature. I was advised by the Ras's people to give him thirty dollars, being assured by them, at the same time, that this would be the last expense of the kind, there being no person between this place and Antalow, who would think of making any demand upon us. As the Baharnegash had really been very friendly, I ordered Hamed Chamie to give him twenty dollars, which, to my surprise, was received with great satisfaction. I now gave orders for the mules to be loaded, when the Baharnegash came up, with a very serious air, and informed me that he had intelligence of a large body of armed men, three thousand in number, who had assembled in order to intercept us, and that unless he were with us we should run great risk of being plundered; he again therefore begged that we would stay till the morrow. I told him, in return, that we were not easily alarmed, being well provided with fire-arms in case of molestation, and, if we were overpowered by numbers, the aggressors would be answerable with their lives to the Ras, who, I had no doubt, would take exemplary vengeance on them; more words, therefore, on the subject were useless, since I was determined to proceed immediately in spite of every obstacle. This put an end to the scheme which had been planned for our detention; in which I have every reason to believe that Negada Moosa, if not Hadjee Hamed, was concerned.

At half past eight we left Abha, and waited on the first rising ground about half an hour till all our baggage came up. We were at first somewhat surprised at seeing great numbers of the villagers with goats, calves, and other cattle closely following, or passing by

us, on the same road that we were travelling, but on turning round an angle of the mountain on our left the whole was explained; for we there found a large concourse of people assembled from all the neighbouring villages to barter the produce of their different hills. It being a new and interesting sight to us, we rode up and took a circuit round the market. Among other wares we observed in it iron, wrought and unwrought, for ploughshares and other purposes, cattle of all kinds, horses, skins, cotton, ghee, and butter; the latter in round balls, and as white as in England; also baskets of chillies, and of a red pod found on the neighbouring hills which the inhabitants eat when ripe. This market is held weekly. The women whom we saw here were generally tall and well shaped, and many of them handsome. Notwithstanding the number of persons that had already assembled, which could not be less than three hundred, we afterwards met on our road as many straggling parties, with merchandise, as would probably double the throng.

The plain through which we were travelling was about two miles in breadth, and the road passed close to the abrupt descent of the mountains on the left, between various isolated rocks, among which was one in the form of a tower, of vast bulk and height. We passed on our left the village of Guragubbo, and on our right that of Muzembah. About three miles farther the soil became of a more sandy nature, which produced several species of Ixia.

The Baharnegash soon after overtook us, and rode on before us, till we ascended an eminence at the bottom of a semicircular ridge of mountains, over which there is but one pass by which it is possible to ascend; here we waited for nearly an hour before all our mules arrived. In steepness and ruggedness this hill

may be compared to Taranta, though its height is considerably inferior.

When we had arrived nearly at the top of the pass, the Baharnegash led us out of the road, up a scarcely accessible ascent to a projecting rock, and it was not till we had toiled up with infinite difficulty, that we found our conductor had brought us thither for the idle purpose of gaining a shelter from the impending rain. With great labour we got our mules back again into the road, and began to descend the hill, which we found much more difficult than the ascent; soon afterwards we were overtaken by the rain, but after traversing two more hills of moderate size, we reached a miserable village, where we took shelter. As soon as the weather had become fair again we recommenced our march, and travelled about three miles farther, nearly in a S.E. direction, to the ruinous village of Recaito, where, after having experienced much difficulty in procuring a shed, we halted for the night. The thermometer was 68°. The distance from Abha to Recaito we computed to be from ten to twelve miles.

"August 18.—We procured a little supper last night, and eggs and milk this morning, in exchange for a few beads, but we found the damsels very keen in making bargains. The woman of the house was sufficiently civil, but the rest of the inhabitants appeared little disposed to accommodate us, and we discovered in the morning, that they had neglected to procure food for our attendants, so that we had to wait a considerable time till it was prepared.

"All the villages in this district bear strong marks of the ravages committed by the Ras's army, or some other military devastation, for the greater part of them are at present mere heaps of

ruins, and, as the Baharnegash told me, the people have no inclination to rebuild them.

"In quitting Recaito we went first to the eastward, and afterwards proceeding due south, ascended a lofty and extremely steep pass, on the top of which ran a stream of water that oozed through its porous channel, and dripped on the rocks below. The whole side of the mountain was covered with Acacia-trees, among which grew the Serge, the Tabbib, and other sweet-scented plants and shrubs, besides many beautiful flowers, of which I collected specimens. About half way up we turned again in an eastern direction, and on reaching the summit, found a level and extensive flat, which, though moist and swampy from numerous springs, appeared to be very capable of cultivation, and, if it were properly drained, well fitted for corn.

"I collected here three species of bulbous plants, and a few specimens of iron ore, which lay scattered in great plenty on several of the hills that we passed. After resting an hour by the side of one of the springs, we proceeded, with all our baggage, along the edge of the flat to the village of Hadjaian; thence, after winding round to the southward, and crossing a small stream, the banks of which were shaded by the Laham, a tree much resembling the Mango in its growth, we ascended a hill, on the west of which stands the village of Shihah.

"The Baharnegash behaved with much politeness during the whole of this day's journey; he even dismounted, and offered me his own mule, which was far superior to that on which I rode; but he afterwards hinted to Captain Rudland, that a little more money would be acceptable. A tolerably good house was prepared for us;

but we were much incommoded by smoke, being obliged to cook in our sleeping-room. It is, probably, this smoke which injures the sight of the inhabitants, for we observed that even the children were many of them nearly blind, and almost every woman advanced in years had lost one, and many of them both their eyes.

" We were roused about two o'clock in the morning by the Baharnegash, who called out most vociferously that an enemy was at hand. It was some time before we could get a light, during which our own party had armed, and was prepared for the expected attack. A rumbling noise or sound like that of a drum, or tom-tom, from the hill in our rear, confirmed us in the belief that some danger was at hand. A light being brought, we found the whole of the Baharnegash's attendants ready armed, with lighted matchlocks, spears, and shields; and a most " warlike" figure they made. Captain Rudland in the mean time had gone out to reconnoitre, and discovered that what had been mistaken for the beating of a drum, was nothing more than the noise made by an old woman in grinding her corn, which here, as well as in Arabia and India, is always done in the night. The alarm however continuing, we at length learned from Hamed Chamie, that two brothers, Agoos and Subagadis, with their army, were coming to take possession of the town, and that the whole country was in a state of uproar; we were informed at the same time, that the only danger to ourselves was the risk of being accidentally molested during the confusion of a nocturnal attack, for it was by no means their intention to do us any voluntary injury.

" In the mean time, Hadjee Hamed and Negada Moosa prepared themselves to go out and meet them, should the news be true. Spies had been already sent, who returned one after another with

intelligence, and we at last were informed that one of them had been detained on the road by the chiefs, who, on hearing that we were in the town, declared their intention of deferring the attack till we should have passed on to the Ras. With some difficulty we prevailed on the Baharnegash to retire, and then putting some ghee in our lamp, we lay down with our fire-arms at hand, and slept till day-break. Hadjee Hamed, at his own request, slept at the door of our room during the remainder of the night.

" August 19.—We had another call to arms before our baggage was ready, upon which, we ascended, with the Baharnegash, a hill close by the house where we lodged, and which commanded a view of the country around. On this, as a strong post, the villagers had all assembled, to the number of thirty or forty, with their spears and shields, ready to defend it. Here and there we saw women and children driving in their cattle, and armed men on horseback on the look out, but no enemies made their appearance, except a few stragglers on the eminences at a distance. After some time we were finally told, that it was a false alarm, upon which we returned to our house, and prepared for our departure. As we were quitting the village, the Baharnegash and his son took leave of us, finding they could not get any more presents, and not choosing any longer to encounter the dangers and fatigue of the march.

" The alarm had not extended far, as we found the inhabitants of the next village very peaceably at work in their fields. We crossed a plain, through which ran a brook shaded with shrubs, and bordered with many kinds of plants of exquisite beauty; afterwards, descending a rugged steep we entered a valley of rich pasture land, the grass of which was so plentifully mixed with

white and red clover, yellow crowfoot, and dandelion, that it had the exact appearance of an English meadow in spring. The cattle feeding upon it were all in high condition. Captain Rudland shot a bird resembling the lapwing, and a little farther on, a couple of fine wild ducks. At the end of this valley was another steep pass, which brought us in sight of a plain surrounded with woody hills and towering rocks, very similar, in general character, to some of the finer valleys in Derbyshire. We halted at a village called Calaut, in the centre of the vale, intending to pass the night there; but, after having waited some time, and finding there was no house prepared, nor any probability of our procuring one, I ordered the tent to be pitched under the shade of a large Daroo tree, and left the village, not very well pleased with the want of hospitality in its inhabitants. We afterwards accepted an invitation to the house of a Mussulmaun, named Hadjee Abdallah, in the lower town, who was a friend of Negada Moosa. This man treated us with much attention, prepared bread for us, and brought us milk, which, with the two wild ducks, made up our repast for the day. The thermometer was 70°.

" August 20.—In the morning we were given to understand that it was impossible to procure people for the conveyance of that part of our baggage which was not carried by the mules, the Chief of the village having absented himself, in order to evade the orders sent by the Ras for providing us with every thing necessary for our accommodation. We were obliged, therefore, to remain another day.

" In the course of the day, Tigra Mokan Welleta Samuel, Chief of the villages of Debra Muttai, came down from his hill with a present

of a sheep and milk, and also engaged to supply us with people at an early hour on the following morning. He made an excuse for appearing in a squalid dress, by informing me that he was in mourning for his brother. His shirt was blackened with dirt, and was to be worn eighty days. In confirmation of this, Hadjee Hamed informed me that all the Christians in Abyssinia mourn in the same way, and also tear the skin off their temples, to shew their affection for the deceased.

" From this worthy man, who seemed more shrewd and sensible than any we had yet met with, I procured some information, which, when joined with what I had before obtained, pretty clearly explained the present state of this part of the country. This man's fafather, Woldo Kemellet, was chief of the district of Agowma, in extent three days march across, in which are the villages of Seraxo, Gullimuckidah, Akran, Duccakallah, Calaut, and many others. This territory, in the time of Michael Suhul, yielded to him, as Ras, much tribute in gold, matchlocks, and cattle; but after Ras Welleta Selassé came into power, Woldo Kemellet was forcibly driven out of his country by Shum Woldo, a celebrated warrior, the friend and favourite of the present Ras, who styled him brother, though there was no relationship by blood between them. Since this revolution, the district has only paid to the Ras annually two hundred skins of honey, two hundred sheep, fifty cows, and ten matchlocks, being a trifling tribute in comparison to what it before yielded. As a compensation to the family of Woldo, the Ras gave to Welleta Samuel the villages of Debra Muttai, with the surrounding land, to be held free of all tribute.

" It is now three years since a battle was fought between Shum

Woldo and Baharnegash Yasous of Dixan, near Bakauko. Yasous came up, with all the dependents he could muster, to attack the former. Their forces, if such they could be called, were said to have amounted to five thousand men on each side. In the action Yasous was victorious, having killed one hundred and fifty of the opposite party, and carried off a band of musicians belonging to Shum Woldo.

" The district of Agowma has since fallen, by the death of Woldo, into the hands of his four sons, Thadoo, Guebra-Gurroo, Subagadis, and Aggoos, who for some time were in intimate alliance with each other, and conquered many of the villages around, but at length quarrelled about the distribution of their new acquisitions. The Ras favours Thadoo and Guebra-Gurroo, who have been for some time in his presence. The latter of the two is however considered as a cipher, being a man of weak capacity. In the mean time Subagadis and Aggoos are making use of the absence of their competitors to get all they can into their own possession; it is supposed however that Thadoo will soon arrive with assistance from the Ras to stop their farther progress, as he has already sent orders to the people of Shiha to make a vigorous defence till he comes to their succour.

" About ten in the morning Hadjee Abdallah was sent for by Aggoos, who, I was given to understand, was the chief of Calaut; and shortly afterwards, having made proper enquiries, he did us the honour of a visit, attended by a large train of warriors, of whom a few were armed with matchlocks, and the rest with spears and shields. He appeared to be little more than twenty years of age, handsome in person, but fierce and rude in his manners; he briefly told us, that he was absent when we arrived, otherwise we should

have met with a better reception, but that he had now brought us a couple of bullocks; he also mentioned, that on hearing we were travelling this way, he had deferred his intended attack on Shihah. He then rose up, and went away with as little ceremony as he came, and in the evening we received from him some milk and sixty-five cakes of teff bread two feet in diameter, as also twenty-five of the same kind from Welleta Samuel.

" August 21.—Though we rose at a very early hour this morning, it was eleven o'clock before all was ready for our departure: in the midst of our preparation we were joined by the young chief Aggoos: he contented himself with looking on in silence, till all our mules were loaded, and then by blows and threats, very speedily made his people take up the remainder of our baggage.

" Almost the whole of this part of the country consists of rocky hills and cultivated valleys, through which our road wound in a general direction from south-east to south-west. About six miles from Calaut, we passed Gullimuckida and Ersubhah on our right hand. We had scarcely gone two miles farther, when we were overtaken by the young warrior Aggoos, attended by two of his fighting men on horseback. He stopped to speak to Hadjee Hamed; but his impatient spirit could not brook travelling at the slow rate we were going; accordingly, in a few minutes, he galloped away, and we soon lost sight of him behind the hills in our front. A messenger on horseback soon after met us to gain intelligence of our approach, and with him our friend Negada Moosa rode forward to get all things in readiness for our reception. The country was very rich in pasturage, and we saw vast herds of cattle feeding in the different valleys, also a few horses, of a small breed, but which

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GENATER, THE CAPITAL OF AGOWMA.

were however capable of much work. We alarmed two jackalls on the plain grubbing up roots, but they fled so swiftly up the hills that Captain Rudland could not approach within gun-shot of them. About three o'clock we arrived at Genáter, the capital of the district of Agowma. It is a village, consisting chiefly of conical huts, overlooked by a high rock, steep on every side, and on the top of which is an area about one hundred feet in diameter, occupied partially by a citadel. Here we were met by Subagadis, the elder of the four sons of Shum Woldo. He uncovered himself with great humility on approaching, and saluted us by kissing our hands; he then led us into his state room, which was not unlike a hall in some of our old English mansions, being lofty, and supported by round posts in the centre. Here he treated us with an excellent fowl-curry, wheaten loaves cooked in steam, and plenty of maise; he also presented me with three bullocks, four pots and two skins of honey, as he expressed it, by the Ras's order. All this time his brother Aggoos had been standing behind him, not being allowed, as it should seem, to sit in his presence. We spent this day very pleasantly, being treated with great hospitality by the master of the mansion, who was in his manners by far the most polished Abyssinian we had yet seen. He had a mild expression in his countenance, his features were regular, his hair was short and curly, but not woolly, and his limbs, though small, were well formed. The thermometer was 66°.

" August 22.—In the morning I made a present of a looking-glass, some beads, and a few cloves, to the lady of the house, who was of a much lighter complexion than any we had before met with, and was distantly related to the Ras. These trifles were received with much

satisfaction, and, for the first time, we found ourselves among people who were above begging. In the course of the day, Subagadis took an opportunity of speaking to me about the unfortunate dissensions in his family.. The Ras, he said, had ordered his father's country to be equally divided between himself and his brother Thadoo; but the latter, dissatisfied with his share, had ever since been continually plundering all his villages, as well as many others belonging to the neighbouring chiefs. He observed, very properly, that a country thus divided could never prosper; and he hoped, as he was the elder brother, that I would use all my interest with the Ras, to have him reinstated in the whole of his father's possessions; begging, at the same time, that I would speak to the Ras as soon as possible on the subject, as the present was the month for the annual settlement of the provinces. He also wished me to represent to the Ras, that, although his order for supplying us with provision and other necessaries at the villages through which we passed, had been regularly transmitted to Thadoo's people, yet no preparations had been made. In answer to this, I told him, that I was only a stranger going to the Ras, and that therefore my interest could not be considerable; that it was not my business to meddle with state affairs; but that, as he had treated us with great hospitality, I would certainly do him all the service in my power. I then presented him with a piece of muslin, with which he was greatly pleased, saying, that I had been much more liberal than he had any reason to expect; and, taking me by the hand, declared that he should ever think of me as a friend. In return, I only begged of him, that if he should ever meet with Englishmen again, he would exercise towards them the same kindness that he had shewn to us.

" We were entertained in the morning by the sight of an Abyssinian banquet, at which, although new guests were continually relieving those who were satisfied, we counted ninety-five persons feeding at the same time in the hall. It might frighten many a man to go into the midst of such a throng cutting away at the raw meat with their long drawn knives, and handing it about in large pieces, from the higher to those of inferior rank. Sometimes, if it chanced to be a coarse piece, it was observed to go through six or seven gradations. At the farther end of the hall sat Subagadis and his wife, with her female attendants, behind a half drawn curtain. On our entering the hall we were invited to take a seat among them, with which we willingly complied. The lady, whom we could now more particularly attend to, was young and pretty, and both gentle and agreeable in her manners; she asked me for a pair of ear-rings (which I had before been erroneously given to understand the Abyssinian ladies did not wear); I sent accordingly for a pair of some that I had procured at Mocha, and presented them to her.

" During our stay, Captain Rudland shot two eagles, which I suppose to be the male and female. The people, having never before seen a bird killed when flying, were much delighted on the occasion. We left Genáter about ten o'clock, travelling at a slow rate. On our way we passed two priests dressed in light scarlet garments; one of them carried in his hand a bell, the other a large and curiously ornamented key. The first eight miles lay in a southward direction, through a fine grazing country; then winding round the hills, we ascended a high pass, the top of which divides the district of Shum Woldo from that of Ayto Welleta Michael. We were desired to wait on this hill, as Ayto Welleta Michael,

chief of the village of Takota, whom we were going to visit, was out on a warlike expedition against Sahána, a town belonging to Thadoo. In a few minutes we saw him coming down a hill to the east, with, I suppose, at least one thousand followers, horse and foot, thronging round their Chief in most unmilitary confusion, like the attendants of an Eastern prince on a visit of ceremony. A few were armed with matchlocks, and the rest with spears and shields. When they came abreast of us, they divided off into two parties, one of which consisted of Welleta Michael's own troops, and the other of his auxiliaries, led by Ayto Guebra, and the chiefs of some distant villages. Welleta Michael himself proceeded to Takota.

" Guebra Welleta Selassé, a messenger from Antalow, had met us on the hill with a grey mule belonging to the Ras, which he had sent for my own riding. This man we dispatched to the Chief of Takota, to inform him of our approach: but he returned with so unsatisfactory an answer, that it was judged prudent to proceed about four miles farther, to a village belonging to Ayto Guebra, where we at length procured a small though tolerably comfortable room for the Ras's mule and ourselves for the night.

" August 23.—Last night we were presented by the Chief of the village with a bullock and two sheep, a part of one of which was made into a country curry, with bread and maise, for our supper. I was informed this morning, that the present dissensions between Thadoo and Ayto Welleta Michael, arose from the plundering dispositions of the people subject to the former, who had been constantly in the habit of coming openly in the day time, and carrying away the cattle belonging to the latter. In order to put a stop to this, Ayto Welleta Michael assembled all his friends and followers,

and marched to the village of Sahána, where most of these depredators live, to demand satisfaction. Nothing however was settled yesterday, nor was any blood spilt on the occasion; and though it is supposed that matters will be accommodated (to enforce which Ayto Welleta Michael to day again marches out to Sahána), it is the opinion of my informant, that the cattle will not be returned, as the parties aggrieved stand much in awe of Thadoo, who is very powerful when his forces are collected.

" We left this place about nine A. M. attended by the Chief of the village, but had not travelled above two miles, before we were desired by our guides to halt at the bottom of a hill on one side of the plain of Ayaddah, on which are the twelve villages of Amba Manut. After a long consultation between Negada Moosa and Guebra Selassé on one side, and the Chiefs of the villages above who had come down to meet us, on the other, the former endeavoured to prevail on us to stop for the rest of the day. This I refused: upon which the Chiefs surrounded us, and with most earnest and humble supplications (placing at the same time stones upon their heads and necks), endeavoured to persuade us that their lives would not be safe if we did not comply. After many fruitless endeavours to get away quietly, by remonstrating with our two guides upon the absurdity of this detention, I was at last actually compelled to force my way through the throng, and gallop off to my companions, who had gone on a little way before; but all my endeavours to prevent so serious a loss of time were to little purpose; for, after going about two miles farther, we arrived at another village, when the rain came on so violently, that we were not sorry to take up our abode for the night, in a good house prepared for our reception.

" We were treated with much attention by the master of the mansion; but our food, &c. was all brought over from the village where we had been first pressed to stop.

" I had seen in coming in, a plant very like the Ensete of Bruce; on examination in the evening it proved to be a new species of Musa. It grows from thirty to forty feet high; the trunk or stem is bare (when the first leaves have withered away), about fifteen feet from the ground; here about twelve leaves branch out, incasing each other at their base, as in the plantain. The mid-rib of each leaf is bare for about two feet and a half before the spreading part of the leaf commences, and is at the back of a bright red colour. The leaf is about four feet across at the broadest part, about twenty feet long, and pointed at the end. The fruit springs from the centre or body of the plant, and is protected when young by four or five small, but strong leaves, which firmly embrace the whole cluster. The parts of the flower are very similar to the plantain, as in appearance is the fruit, but it differs decidedly from it in being filled with hard irregular-shaped seeds, each of the size of a hazel-nut; the form of the plant may be learned from the drawing of the mountains of Adowé, where it again occurred.* The thermometer was 64.

" August 24.—The lady of the house, who was sister-in-law to the wife of Subagadis, paid us a visit in the morning; she was far inferior to the latter both in personal charms and in manners. I presented her with a looking-glass and some beads; but she was dissatisfied with them; nevertheless, on our going, she took them away. The Chiefs also of the villages that we had passed the day

* This Musa is growing in the conservatory of Lord Valentia.

before paid us a morning visit, and presented us with a bullock and other articles. About nine we left the village, and pursued our journey, in a southward direction, over a more rocky country than we had lately passed through, and in consequence saw more of the kolquall. In the neighbourhood however of the villages, to the right, were many small patches of pasture ground. The hills beyond presented many strange and uncouth forms, and sheep of all shades, from white to black, were grazing on the sides of them. After a ride of about five miles, in the course of which we passed several small villages, each containing one principal house, surrounded with a stone wall, we mounted up a hill to a larger village, the residence of Ayto Guebra. We were welcomed by this chief, who is married to a niece of Ras Welleta Selassé, with much hospitality. Tecla Hammainout, the husband of his lady's sister, and some other friends, were also assembled to receive us. Few words passed at our introduction. Maise, curry, and immense piles of bread, being laid before us, we were given to understand, that to eat and drink heartily, was the best compliment that we could pay them; and indeed they plied us so fast with the maise, and that of so good and strong a quality, that I found it absolutely necessary to rise and depart in a hurry, lest all our servants, to whom they had been as liberal as to ourselves, should be incapable of proceeding. On coming out of the banquetting room, we were ushered rather unexpectedly into the lady's apartment, who received us very cordially, and paid her compliments in a very easy and polite way. She was by no means handsome, yet there was something very pleasing in the expression of her face. I made an excuse for not being able to make her a present, as all the baggage was gone on. She

received my apology with great good manners, saying at the same time, that her only wish, in trying to prevail upon us to stay, was to have the pleasure of our company; but as the end of this would have been only a general drinking-bout, we resisted even the entreaties of the lady, and taking leave of her, mounted our mules, and rode on some miles with good speed to the mansion of Debib, Chief of Negashé. It had been the intention of our guides, however, that we should have taken up our quarters at a village much nearer to the one we had last quitted, so that when we arrived, the Chief was unprepared for our reception, and had to get out his holiday clothes: he received us however, very kindly, though we were at first unable to enter into any conversation, having left our interpreter behind with the baggage. A second feast was soon prepared for us, and four hundred cakes of bread of the usual size were given to our people, together with bullocks, honey, ghee, &c.

" August 25.—The master of the house rode on with us this morning, as had been the general custom since we left Abha. He sat his horse firmly and gracefully, like most of his countrymen of rank, who make by no means an unhandsome figure on horseback, with their white dresses, and black sheep skins thrown loosely across the left shoulder. They wear nothing on their heads, but consider it as a mark of dignity to cover the lower part of their face with the loose part of their dress; and are generally attended by eight or ten followers, with matchlocks and spears.

" About five miles on the road, after ascending and descending some steep mountains, we were taken to visit a church or convent cut out of the solid rock, called Abuhásubha. This place is situated on the side of a rock which commands a view of a large and beautiful

plain, thinly set with daroo and wild date trees. In front of the excavation is a thatched and two-storied entrance, built in a style much resembling that of the Portuguese. From this three doors lead into an oblong square room (A), the dimensions of which are about fifty feet by thirty, supported by two rows of columns, each consisting of four pillars and two pilasters; the former are about three feet in diameter, and from their plainness and proportions, resemble those of the Tuscan order. Beyond is a room (B), answering in some degree to the chancel of modern churches; it is divided from the larger excavation by two square pillars, and has a dome-shaped cieling about forty feet high, of very excellent workmanship. In this room are contained the baptismal font, and the various articles used in the ceremonies of the church, which are concealed from view by a curtain suspended between the two pillars at the entrance. On each side is a smaller room (C), communicating by a door and window with the larger excavation. The cieling in front of the centre room in the larger excavation, is hollowed out into a kind of dome about thirty feet high, curiously painted and carved; and in front of the side rooms it is also adorned in the same manner, but without the dome. The floor is flagged with square stones, and the walls are carved and ornamented with crosses, paintings, and inscriptions in the Ethiopic character, which, I was informed, entirely consist of sentences taken from Scripture. The most conspicuous of the paintings are representations of Christ, the Apostles, and Saint George combating the dragon: the white horse of the latter is both well designed and executed. We were allowed by the priests to examine every part of this singular temple, which is damp, and full of bats and insects, particularly the side cells, in each

of which is a tomb. One of the most curious circumstances in this excavation is, that water continually issues from one of the pillars, which deposits a ferruginous sediment, that seems not in any degree to have corroded the stone. On the outside are several tombs excavated in the sides of the rock, and only covered over by loose stones. The priests who attended us were all neatly dressed in white, with light turbans or rather wrappers round their heads. I gave them two dollars for their attentions to us, with which they were well satisfied.

" The rock out of which this temple is excavated is of a very hard consistence, so that much labour must have been bestowed on the work. We observed nothing from which we could form any opinion as to the period when it was undertaken. It is certainly more antient than the time of the residence of the Portuguese in Abyssinia, and is probably one of those that were formed at the command of the Emperor Lalibala, by workmen sent for, for that purpose, from Egypt.*

" Resuming our journey, we passed through a luxuriant copse, and observed growing on the rocky sides of the pathway several beautiful species of Filices, of which I procured specimens. We then mounted successively many high and rugged hills, our road turning at times to every point of the compass, till after a most laborious and fatiguing day, we reached our halting place for the night, at the top of one of the loftiest hills. It was some time before we were joined by our attendants, with the baggage, who had gone by another route, in the course of which they had visited a mosque held extremely sacred by the Mussulmauns. We had a miserable hut to

* Vide Ludolf. Lib. ii. ch. 5.

sleep in, where we were under the necessity of crowding all together. The man of the house, however, who was a servant of the Ras, treated us with great attention, and on bringing the maise, presented me with a neatly turned horn, the peculiar manufacture of Abyssinia, which was the more acceptable from the obliging manner in which it was given. Curry and other provisions were prepared, and a cow was offered for our acceptance. The thermometer was 68°. The length of our days journey we computed to be from fourteen to sixteen miles.

" August 26.—We were on the road at an early hour in the morning, and after travelling about five miles, met a Chief on the road, who told us that the Ras had appointed a village about two miles farther on, for our resting place on the ensuing night; as thence we might easily reach Antalow in the course of the following day. On our arrival, however, we found no preparations made for our reception; and, in consequence, much altercation passed between our guides and the Chief of the place, who, frightened by their violence, came to throw himself on the ground before my mule, with a stone on his neck. As I evidently saw that our stay was not wished for, and as it was of importance to lose as little time as possible, I determined to proceed.

" After travelling about six miles farther over a mountainous country, we came to the town of Derhah. This place, from the hill by which we approached it, appeared of far more consequence than any that we had before seen, being surrounded by a wall and wide fosse, and most of the houses being built of stone. There is no resident chief at Derhah, as it is under the immediate command of the Ras, who has appointed six head-men to rule over it. They paid

me a visit, but seemed to think so much of supplying our wants, that I at last was obliged to tell them that we did not come as beggars into their country; and if the Ras had not issued orders concerning us, we would willingly pay for whatever they might supply. On this they departed. The people of the house were, however, very kind, and prepared for us bread, maise, and a curry of mutton.

" About seven in the evening we received a message from our friend Subagadis, informing us that he had arrived in the town, but had not been able to procure a house for the night; that he should, however, remain in the neighbourhood, and would be ready to accompany us at an early hour in the morning on our way to Antalow. Mr. Carter, at my desire, immediately went out to him, to offer such accommodation for the night as our small house would afford, which, after several refusals, on account of the inhabitants, of whose conduct he meant to complain to the Ras, he accepted. The supper, of which our guest partook very heartily, was served up in true Abyssinian style. We were much pleased at this opportunity of shewing to him our gratitude for the hospitable treatment which we had experienced at Genáter, the capital of his district of Agowma. The thermometer was 70°. Our journey was from twelve to fourteen miles.

" August 27.—About six o'clock we left Derhah, in company with Subagádis and his attendants, and travelled about ten miles over grazing plains and high rocky hills. The soil of the plains was of a black colour, extremely rich, and full twelve feet deep, as we ascertained by the broken banks of a stream which runs meandering through it; the hills also would admit of cultivation, if the

large stones with which they are incumbered were removed; but this the inhabitants are too idle or ignorant to undertake, even on the flat land; so that it is with the greatest difficulty that they are able to plough it. After descending a steep pass, from which we had a full view of the hill of Antalow, we arrived at the village of Chelicut, where we were accommodated in a house belonging to the Ras, built on a beautiful spot close to the borders of a stream. We were at this place treated with more than usual ceremony and respect, and were informed that the Ras had ordered the greatest attention to be paid to our wishes. In the afternoon we were taken out to visit the church, attended by a multitude of priests, all handsomely cloathed in white. On entering the first gate-way, they requested us to take off our shoes and hats, with which we immediately complied. I was somewhat surprized to see that the Mussulmauns were permitted to enter into the first circular avenue. A sufficiently accurate idea of the whole building may be formed, by imagining three concentric circular walls covered with a thatched roof, surmounted by a ball and cross. The spaces between the two outer walls were open avenues; the space included within the central one forms the body of the church. The walls were coated with whitish-red plaister, ornamented with gilding, and covered with representations of Noah and the Ark, Christ and the Virgin Mary, the Apostles, the martyrdom of the saints, many extravagant designs taken from the prophecies, and St. George fighting the dragon. This latter saint seems to be the national favourite, and every where makes a most conspicuous figure upon his white horse. The colouring of all these figures was very gaudy, but some of them, particularly one picture of the Virgin Mary, the face of which

was covered with glass to preserve it, was executed in a style superior to the generality of eastern paintings. The Infant Christ was placed in one instance in the left hand of his mother, and in another in her right.

" In the outer circle of the church was suspended a very handsome glass chandelier, presented to the Ras by the Sheriffe of Mecca. From the church we were taken to the store-room, to view the rich vestments and furniture of the officiating priests, which were of great beauty. Among other articles were eleven mitres of pure silver inlaid with gold, two dresses of black velvet richly studded with silver, a large silver drum hooped with gold, besides a rich Venetian cloth very handsomely embroidered. The priests seemed to have much pleasure in shewing us their wealth, and afterwards conducted us to the Ras's garden, which, though in a very wild state, and overgrown with grass, was enriched with many valuable fruit trees, as oranges, citrons, pomegranates, and bananas, most of which, from their names being evidently derived from Arabic, I supposed to have been originally brought from Arabia.

" Chelicut is the residence of Azoro Mantwaub, one of the Ras's wives; she is a daughter of Ayto Ischias, and sister to the present king. She was extremely polite in her attentions to us, sent us many flattering messages, and provided our table with plenty of curry and maize. Notwithstanding the great attention paid to us, we had much difficulty in procuring provision and maise (though we at last accomplished it) for our friend Subagadis, who had not presumed to come near the Ras's house; nor did the villagers even dare to furnish him with a house, though the weather was very inclement, for fear of displeasing his brother Thadoo, who was said to be in great favour

with the Ras. At night, however, some of those who favoured his party, gave him a wretched hovel to shelter him from the rain. The thermometer was 64°. The length of our day's journey was about eight miles.

"August 28.—Having prepared ourselves as well as circumstances would permit for going into the presence of the Ras, we left Chelicut at an early hour, and were joined by Subagadis on the opposite side of the brook which runs through the village. Between this place and Antalow is a lofty mountain, for the purpose of avoiding which, we continued to wind round the eastern and southern sides of it for nearly ten miles, over hills which skirt its base. The small vallies which we passed were wet and swampy with the last night's rain, which much impeded our progress. We passed a large village called Afgool, belonging to Ozoro Ambeah, another of the Ras's wives, the principal inhabitants of which came out to pay their compliments. At length, after our patience was nearly exhausted by mounting hill after hill, we came suddenly in sight of Antalow, distant from us about a mile. As we approached, our train increased very rapidly, and before we reached the Ras's residence, we had to pass through an assemblage of at least three thousand of the inhabitants.* They pressed so hard to get near us as we were going through the first gate, over which were sitting some of the officers of state, that it was with great difficulty we could force a passage. We were not allowed to dismount from our mules till we had got into the entrance of the great hall, at the farther end of which was seated the Ras, on a couch with two

* The great number present was, as we afterwards found, partly owing to its being market-day.

large pillows upon it covered with rich satin. On each side of him, seated on the floor, which was carpetted, were all his principal chiefs, and among others, our friend Baharnegash Yasous. On being ushered with much bustle into his presence, according to the custom of the country, we bowed, and then kissed the back of his hand, and he in return kissed ours; he then pointed to a vacant couch on his right, covered with a beautiful skin, on which we were immediately seated. After this the usual compliments passed, the Ras on his part expressing his pleasure at seeing us, and we on our part making a proper return, with additional compliments from Lord Valentia at Mocha. We were then given to understand that nothing more was to be said at this visit. In a few minutes after Captain Rudland was taken away to inspect the apartments allotted us, and on his return we withdrew, attended by a minister of the Ras, through whom we were to communicate all our wishes.

"The hurry, with which our first interview was conducted, did not permit us to make many observations concerning the persons present, and our attention was of course principally directed to the Ras. He is remarkably small in person, and delicately formed, quick in his manner, notwithstanding his age, which was said to be seventy-two, with a shrewd expression in his countenance, and considerable dignity in his deportment. Though he did not move from his couch, on which he partly reclined, yet our reception was considered to be particularly gracious, as, by kissing our hands, in return, he placed us on an equality with himself. We had previously been required to uncover our heads and prostrate ourselves before him; but this we most positively refused.

"We were furnished in the course of the day with abundance of

H. Salt del.

J. Greig sculpt.

THE RESIDENCE OF THE RAS AT ANTALOW.

ASIATIC SOCIETY

provisions, and were much pressed to eat and drink profusely, by way of doing honour to the house. In the evening we had several polite messages from the Ras, who sent for our fire-arms, and treated Pearce and Ibrahim who took them to him, with great attention, seating them on his couch, and giving them plenty of maize. He was highly delighted with the guns, and in return sent us a fishing net, acquainting us at the same time, that he seldom staid at home in the night, but took his pleasure in fishing and hunting. He sent us also a dish of stewed fish, which was thought very delicious by some of our party. We had a pretty good example of the Ras's watchfulness, for about twelve o'clock he sent us some clouted cream, and at four I was called up to receive the compliments of the morning.

"August 29.—At about ten in the morning we were invited to breakfast with the Ras, and were received with the same distinction as yesterday, being seated on a sofa, while his minister was placed close by on the carpet. We were very plentifully fed by the Ras himself with eggs, fowl in curry, and balls of a mixed composition of wild celery, curds and ghee, after which we were offered brinde; but on our expressing a wish to have it dressed, the meat was afterwards brought grilled, and cut into small pieces by one of the attendants, and handed to our mouths by the Ras, much in the same way as boys in England feed young magpies. It is scarcely possible to describe the scene that was going on in the mean time in the hall, where the people were squabbling and almost fighting, with their drawn knives, for the raw meat that was handed about, and the teff bread that lay heaped up around the table; there were, however, some masters of the ceremony who carried long white sticks, with

which they frequently chastised those who were too hasty in seizing their portion.

" We afterwards spent the day very quietly, as the time for receiving the presents from Lord Valentia was deferred till the morrow. The thermometer was 68° in our room, and frequent storms of rain occurred during the day.

" August 30.—A copy of Lord Valentia's letter, which I had ordered to be written in case the original should not have safely arrived, was delivered to the Ras in the morning at four o'clock, by Hamed Chamie, who also, as far as I had authorized him, entered into an explanation of the nature of my mission from his Lordship. About six o'clock I was sent for, and found the Ras alone, in the hall; I then delivered to him, in the name of Lord Valentia, the presents sent by his Lordship, which consisted of two entire pieces of broadcloth, one blue and the other red; a handsome watch, a telescope, some pieces of kincaub and satin, a dress of gold tissue, a gold ring and broach, and several pieces of muslin. These presents gave great satisfaction, more particularly those articles which were new to him, namely, the watch, telescope, and trinkets; and the kincaub and gold dress he repeatedly ordered to be opened out before him. On stating, in the name of his Lordship, the impossility of procuring at Mocha such presents as he would have wished to send, he stopt me at once, by expressing his entire satisfaction with what he had received; and assured me, that his only regret arose from the impossibility of communicating in our own language, the friendship he felt for us, who, strangers as we were, had come so far from our parents, our friends, and our country, to visit him, while those who were near to him, and ought to be his friends, thought only of

making war upon him. He then asked me what were the wishes of Lord Valentia, and the objects for which I had come. In return, I informed him that Lord Valentia's sole motive in sending me, was an anxious desire to promote an intercourse of friendship between two such powerful countries as England and Abyssinia, the inhabitants of which were moreover of the same religion; and that if the Ras was inclined to form such a connection, to represent to him how much it might conduce to the interest of his country. That Abyssinia having hitherto been accustomed to receive all her imports at the third or fourth hand, an immoderate duty had been paid at every separate transfer; whereas an intercourse with the English, who are uncontrouled masters of the sea, would enable the Ras to supply himself at once with whatever commodities he might want, and of a quality far superior to any that had hitherto found their way into his country: that, in all this, Lord Valentia was actuated by no motives of personal advantage, having only in view the mutual benefit of England and Abyssinia, to which a free interchange of each other's produce would materially contribute. His Lordship, I added, was now proceeding to England, and would gladly take charge of any communication which the Government of Abyssinia might choose to make on the subject to the British Government.

"After a silence of a few minutes, the Ras asked me, whether Massowah, or any other port in the neighbourhood, would be most convenient for English vessels to deliver their cargoes at. To this I replied, that I believed there was no harbour, but only anchorage at Beiloul, otherwise the vicinity of that place to his capital, would give it a decided advantage over Massowah. That there was indeed

a convenient port at this latter place, and a tolerable supply of fresh water; but both the town and adjacent territory were at present under the command of Nayib Edris, who seemed inclined rather to thwart than promote the interests of Abyssinia, as the interception of my letter to the Ras, (for the conveyance of which I had been obliged to pay thirty dollars) doubtless in consequence of orders from the Nayib, would sufficiently prove; and that moreover, I had been forced to give him five hundred dollars for liberty to pass through his territory, and for the promise of mules, &c. for our accommodation, which latter agreement had been scandalously violated. The Ras expressed much displeasure at this conduct of the chief of Massowah, and said that the former Nayib, Hannes, had always been a good friend of his, and that the present Nayib had given no cause for dissatisfaction, until about five years ago, when he had been obliged to send thither a military force to bring him to reason, and that he then should have cut off all communication between Massowah and Abyssinia, if the Nayib had not appeased him by the most humble supplications. He farther added, that there was a place on the coast belonging to himself called Buré, not more than four days journey from Antalow, well supplied with water and cattle; the inhabitants of which had often solicited permission to open a trade with the ships that were constantly passing within sight of them. That the road between Buré and Antalow was very practicable for kafilas, excepting one day's journey, in which no water was to be procured; and that if this place should be deemed sufficiently convenient, he would immediately turn the trade into that channel. In order that I might satisfy myself on the subject, he offered to send for one of the chiefs of the place, from whom I

might obtain any additional information that I chose; and when I represented to him that no verbal report would be so satisfactory, as sending one of the gentlemen who had accompanied me to make inquiries on the spot, he immediately assented to the proposal. He then said, that a hope was expressed in Lord Valentia's letter, that I might go to Gondar; but, though it was his anxious wish to comply with all our desires, it was at present impossible to secure the safety of our persons on the journey, he being on bad terms with Gusmatie Guxo, who had possession of Gondar. The Ras then entered into a detail of the circumstances out of which the present dispute between himself and his rival originated, and of this the following account, corrected in some particulars by Hadjee Hamed, who was well acquainted with the circumstances, is a correct abstract.

"The differences arose at a very early period. Ras Welleta Selassé placed Welleta Solomon on the throne, after the abdication of his father Tecla Hamainout; but the new sovereign was soon opposed by the contrary party; afterwards the Ras raised Tecla Georgis to the supreme command. This appointment, however, was not more agreeable to the opponents of the Ras, than the former had been, who compelled Tecla Georgis three several times to fly for protection to Tigré, which was more immediately under the control of his patron. The presence of the Ras being required at his capital in Tigré, every exertion was made by the other party to raise Ayto Ischias, and afterwards his son Ayto Guáloo, members of another branch of the royal family, to the throne. At length, the Ras finding, as it should seem, his two favourites, Welleta Solomon and Tecla Georgis, unequal to maintain the royal authority, was

induced to give his sanction to the establishment of the crown on the head of Ayto Gualoo; and in order to bring over the king to his interest, in opposition to that of Guxo, he married Ozoro Mantwaub, the sister of his present majesty. Gusmatic Guxo, in the mean time, after successfully increasing his power and re-establishing his influence over all Amhara and Begemder, took advantage of Ras Welleta Selassé's absence from the capital about three years ago, to send an arrogant message to the king, recommending to him his daughter as a wife, if he had any thought of remaining at Gondar. The king, whatever were his inclinations, was under the necessity of complying with the proposition, and accordingly married the lady.

At this period, affairs seemed to wear a better face; both parties affected satisfaction at what had taken place, and all animosity was for a time suspended, the tie of kindred being now added to that of allegiance; but this calm was not of long duration. Two years had not elapsed, when, on the death of the late Abuna, Guxo broke violently into the house of the deceased, and plundered it of gold and valuables to the amount of five hundred wakeas of gold, which was considered not as the private property of the Abuna, but as belonging to his office of high priest, and was by custom to be expended in defraying the expenses of bringing his successor from Egypt.

Religion was too fair a pretence for war to be neglected by Ras Welleta Sellassé, who thereupon raised his forces, and being joined by Ras Gabriel, governor of the provinces of Samen and Waldubba, commenced his march towards Gondar. Guxo, unprepared for so immediate an attack, sent a deputation of priests to restore the

money, and thus conciliate the favour and prevent the approach of the offended Ras. In this they succeeded, the cause of war being done away by the restoration of the property; upon which the Ras having made an addition to the five hundred wakeas of gold, sent immediately a deputation for a successor to the deceased Abuna.

"Guxo's pride, however, had received too severe a mortification to acquiesce in what had taken place, and being moreover supported by two of the chief priests, Eustachias and Tecla Haimanout, who had taken upon them all the power of the Abuna, was supposed at this time to be preparing war against Welleta Selassé and his allies. In order still farther to strengthen his party, he is said to have formed a league with Siban son of Kollassé of Michællis, who is at the head of the Edjow Galla, and is reported to be able to bring into the field thirty thousand cavalry, besides double that number of spearmen. This united force commenced its operations by an attack upon Ras Gabriel, in his province of Samen, and obliged him to fly to Ras Welleta Selassé for assistance. After gaining a promise from the latter, that he would join him without fail, as soon as it was possible to cross the Tacazza, he returned to defend his own province, and is at present besieged in the mountains of Geshen-hai.

"Ras Gabriel is said to have one thousand matchlocks in his army, with which he holds out against the united force of Amhara, Begemder, and the Galla. Ras Welleta Selassé, on the first news of Guxo's preparations, sent off a man of rank to enquire into the cause of them; but his messenger was seized, put in irons, and imprisoned, by order of Guxo, and in consequence of this, the breach is now irreparable. The king is obliged to be a quiet spectator of

these contests for power between his rival relatives, and to submit to the unconstitutional hostilities of his father-in-law against his brother, who is invested with the legal authority in civil and military concerns. The Ras told me, however, that he would defer his march till we were safe back at Massowah, as during his absence the enemy would be anxious to get us into their power; for, hearing that we were come on some mysterious concern, they would be afraid that with other dowa (physic), we might have brought poison to extirpate the whole army. He concluded by saying, that after we had spent a few days with him, we might visit any part of Tigré, and that he should be extremely happy to shew us the whole of Abyssinia, if God pleased to give him success in the expected contest, were it possible for us to wait so long.

" I returned him my grateful thanks for the manner in which he had opened to me the situation of public affairs, stating at the same time, that I considered him the best judge of the possibility of our taking the projected journey to Gondar in safety, and after the full explanation which he had given, I could not think, however much I had it at heart, of pressing the subject any farther. I hoped however, that he would be able to shew us Waldubba; in our journey to which place, I should have an opportunity of seeing the Jews' rock and the Tacazza. The Jews' rock our interpreter could not make out; but on mentioning it to the Ras, he instantly knew it, and told me that he was the first person who ever succeeded in an attack upon it. Ras Gabriel of Samen, with whom he some time past was at war, shut up Tecla Georgis upon it, whence he was released by Ras Welleta Selassé. There are a few Jews yet remaining at this place. The Ras assented to my proposal, and promised that I

should visit Tecla Georgis at Waldubba, and Welleta Solomon at Axum; that though the former place was not indeed in his dominions, yet as it belonged to his friend Ras Gabriel, we might go thither in perfect safety. I then requested a copy in Arabic of the History of Abyssinia, from the reign of Joas to the present time; he told me in reply that the chronicles were kept at Axum, and that he would take care I should not be disappointed. On my shewing him the drawings in Bruce's volume, he said that he knew Yagoobe well; he came into Abyssinia after the battle of Fagitta, and afterwards went to the head of the Nile.

Nothing more passed at this interview, except some trifling conversation, which being ended, we left the hall, and did not again see the Ras during the day. It being a public fast, we had provisions brought up to our private apartments. No person had been permitted to come near us, and our persons were kept quite secured from the gaze of the vulgar.

"We have had rain, thunder, and lightning every afternoon since our arrival. The thermometer was 62°, and the weather very wet and cold.

CHAPTER II.

MR. SALT'S NARRATIVE CONTINUED.

Continuation of Transactions at Antalow.—Departure of Mr. Salt on a Tour to Axum. —Arrival at Muculla—Visit to the Church there.—Arrival at Kasunko.—Arrival at the House of Barrainbarras Toklu at Gullybudda.—Visit to Fit Aurari Yasous.— —Arrival at Adowa—Residence there.—Introduction to Fasilydas, son of Yasous, formerly King of Abyssinia.—Arrival at Axum.

CHAPTER II.

"AUGUST 31.—WE had a message at an early hour in the morning, to enquire after our health, and an invitation to breakfast with the Ras; nothing took place except a recurrence of the scene on Thursday, only that, as a favour, we were permitted to make a bow to our good friends Subagadis and Baharnegash Yasous, who were kept at a great distance by the Ras. All the dishes were extremely good; the Ras was in high spirits, and in great good humour, and at his earnest request, we this day, for the first time, ventured on some small pieces of brinde.

"September 1.—Our servants, not having been permitted to go beyond the walled inclosure, about twenty or thirty feet square in front of the building which we occupied, were much dissatisfied, and began to presage our detention in the country. In the morning, I complained to the Ras of this unreasonable strictness, and he said in reply, that it was only intended to prevent any harm happening to them. I notwithstanding requested, that he would allow them to go out when they pleased, and to take care of their own safety. I was going to proceed on other subjects, when his brother and several chiefs were admitted into the hall, which entirely put a stop to all business. Mules were brought in for our riding, of which Captain Rudland and myself availed ourselves to take a survey of the mountain of Antalow. We first skirted the western

extremity, and then ascended the northern side by a steep path that had seldom before been attempted by mules. We found the summit covered with verdure, and pastured by numerous herds of cattle. On passing over to the southern brow, we had a complete view of the town of Antalow, the adjacent villages, and the high mountains that divide Tigré from the country of the Galla to the south.

"Antalow consists of upwards of one thousand houses, with conical thatched roofs, erected upon an uneven rising ground in the valley below. The house of the Ras is conspicuous from its size, from the different shape of the roof, and from a wall by which it is surrounded. With this exception, the rest of the place makes a most wretched appearance, and the country around is extremely uninteresting, there not being a tree to be seen in the whole extent, except a few small ones that surround the two churches in the vicinity of the town.

"The top of this hill was formerly used as a place of defence, and, on many of the ledges of the rocks, walls yet remain formed of loose stones, for the purpose of impeding the progress of assailants. The last time that the inhabitants fled to it, was in the time of Ras Michael Suhul, when they were attacked by the Galla, under a chief of the name of Waldo.

"On our return, we were obliged to dismount from our mules, the descent being steep and broken, and well calculated by nature for defence. The upper part of this hill is composed of loose calcareous stones, of a reddish sandy colour, lying in horizontal strata, bare, and perpendicular at the edges; lower down is found a bed of breccia resting upon a mass of hard black stone (probably basalt),

of which the whole base of the mountain consists. At the bottom we passed two villages, and after crossing a few low ridges, reached Antalow, where we were received by some hundreds of the inhabitants who had assembled to view the strangers.

"On our arrival, we found the Ras at breakfast, and were invited to join him; the dishes were the same as usual, with the addition of boiled cow-heel. The Ras was in good humour, and asked many questions about our churches, our king, &c. An old woman was standing behind him, whom he very significantly introduced as a proper person for us to become acquainted with, as she had many young ladies under her care. He had often before joked with us on the same subject, but had never gone so far as on the present occasion. After taking our usual quantity of maize, the Ras shewing an inclination to sleep, we retired.

"In the evening we went into the hall, and found the Ras at chess in the midst of his chiefs. The chess men, which are coarsely made of ivory, are very large and clumsy; when they have occasion to take any one of their adversary's pieces, they strike it with great force and eagerness from its place. I observed that their game differs much from ours. Bishops jump over the heads of knights, and are only allowed to move three squares. The pawns move only one step forward at starting, and get no rank by reaching the end of the board; they play with much noise, every person around, even the slaves, having a voice in the game, and seizing the pieces at pleasure, to shew any advisable move. We observed, however, that they always managed with great ingenuity to let the Ras win every game.

"A repast was afterwards served up, at which many ladies were

present, among these one, who, we were informed, was one of his brother's wives, sat on the same couch with the Ras; others were seated on the floor, and all seemed to do justice to the brinde and maize.

" We were much distressed in the evening at the loss of our interpreter, Hadjee Hamed, who withdrew himself, as he informed us, from dissatisfaction at the treatment he had experienced from some of the Ras's people, telling me, that he would, " Please God," return in the morning.

" September 2.—We did not see any thing of the Ras in the morning, our breakfast being brought to our own apartment, and from hearing less noise than usual in the large hall, we had every reason to suppose it was one of their fasts. The day passed over, and we heard nothing of Hadjee Hamed, although we sent repeated messengers after him. From this circumstance, and certain reports which our servants collected in the town, we were led to believe that there was something not very pleasant going on; but what it was, we were unfortunately not able to ascertain, being shut out from all communication, except with the Ras, to whom we sent our salaams in the evening, which were politely returned. The thermometer at noon, in our room, was 63°: much rain fell in the course of the evening.

" September 3.—Being determined to explain myself, as well as I could, through Ibrahim, who spoke imperfectly the language of the country, I sent early in the morning to the Ras, requesting to speak to him. He returned for answer, that he would see me on the morrow. I sent a second message, but with as little effect, as he excused himself on the plea of being much engaged in business.

I then pressed him to send for Hadjee Hamed; upon which he returned back word, that our interpreter did not dare to come, being in fear of his life, which he said we had threatened to put an end to. This message gave us considerable uneasiness, as it appeared reasonable to suppose that so palpable a falsehood could only be invented by Hadjee Hamed, for the purpose of counteracting our interest with the Ras, which he might conceive detrimental to that of the Sheriffe of Mecca; or by the Ras, for the purpose of throwing on us the blame of his departure, which, on the contrary, was occasioned by the misconduct of his own impertinent slaves; and in either case it was likely to be the forerunner of much mischief to our views. The only circumstance that led us to impute it to Hadjee Hamed was, that we before had discovered that he endeavoured to lessen as much as possible the value of the presents which we gave to the Ras.

"The Ras sent in the course of the day a message of enquiry after our health, accompanied by a present of oranges, limes and dried plantains. Our food was as usual brought to our apartment; it consisted of a fowl in the morning, and a small mutton curry in the evening, which, though rather a scanty allowance, put us to no real inconvenience, as we had a plentiful supply of good bread and maize; in addition to which we this day received from the Ras, about noon, some of his own fine wheaten bread.

"I was engaged during the morning in penning some of my sketches, and Captain Rudland in teaching one of the Ras's principal men how to make a white-wash for the walls of the house, from a chalk stone that we found on the hill of Antalow.

"Mr. Carter got an observation at noon, by which he fixed the latitude of this place to be in 12° 48′ 30″. The latter part of the

day was extremely gloomy with much rain, thunder and lightning; the thermometer at noon was 60°.

" September 4.—I repeated my message to the Ras by means of Ibrahim at an early hour in the morning, stating our wish to pay him a visit; which he politely put off till mid-day. Soon after, he sent a request to Captain Rudland that he would accompany his builder to the hill, in order to point out the stone that they made use of on the day before. I afterwards took this occasion to send Hamed Chamie to the Ras with the Mussulmaun builder, who spoke Arabic, to beg that another interpreter might be assigned me, and that Hadjee Hamed might be brought into his presence, that I might have an opportunity of shewing how falsely I had been accused. The latter request he evaded, by saying that Hadjee Hamed would not come any more, but that I might procure any other interpreter that I chose. Hamed Chamie then stated to him in the true Arabic style, that we were his strangers, that our lives and property were in his hands, and that he might do with them as he pleased; in return, he expressed himself in very friendly terms, and promised that all our wishes should be complied with. After our breakfast, consisting of half a fowl curried, the Ras sent us a large citron, with the usual salaams.

" Pearce went out into the market in the morning, and found it so crowded, that he could with difficulty ascertain the articles brought for barter; corn, butter, ghee, onions, skins, and cattle, seemed to be the staple commodities; the small currency, if it may be so called, consisted of wedges of rock salt, each weighing two or three pounds, and estimated at one thirtieth of a dollar.

" Weekly markets are held in many parts of the country, at a

distance from all habitations; one we passed on our way from the residence of the amiable Ozoro Mantwaub, and another on our way to the mansion of Debib, chief of Negashé. In all these many hundred men were assembled, who therefore do not consider it infamous (as Bruce asserts) for them to attend a market.

" At twelve o'clock I sent Hamed Chamie to the Ras to solicit the promised audience, but hearing that he stood unnoticed in the hall, I determined at once to go without ceremony into the presence, attended by Captain Rudland; thinking it absolutely necessary to come to an immediate explanation concerning the absence of Hadjee Hamed, and other unpleasant circumstances which had reached our ears; more especially as all the persons with me had expressed great uneasiness about our situation, being in considerable alarm lest we should be detained in the country. We found the Ras engaged at chess with one of his chiefs; on seeing us he offered his hand, seating me by his side, and Captain Rudland next to me. Our patience however was nearly exhausted before the game was completed, not a single word during this time being spoken to us. Some of his people who had been waiting for a considerable time presented him cakes of bread, honey, a sheep, and fire-wood. He now dismissed the whole party, and after a few minutes conversation with a priest, who was to give us intelligence concerning the latter portion of the Abyssinian history, the room was cleared.

" I proceeded to express my regret at the conduct of Hadjee Hamed, whom I most solemnly declared I had always treated with the greatest attention, as being sent to me by the Ras; I stated also, that this man, on leaving me, had given an entirely different reason

for his going away, and that I was fearful that he had been saying something prejudicial of us, and had altogether been acting an underhand part; in consequence of which I had been extremely anxious for a personal conference, wherein the whole might be explained. The Ras was gloomy for some time, and at last said that he did not as yet clearly understand the motive of our coming into his country. This I immediately ascribed to the fault of his interpreter; and then proceeded to enter fully into a repetition of what had passed on my laying the presents before him, and concluded with saying, that by his invitation we had come up to his presence through barbarous districts, where nothing but his name could have protected us, and had entrusted him with our lives and property, which were all at his disposal; and that now our only desire, during the remainder of our stay in his country, was to act in strict conformity to all his wishes; but that we expected to be treated as friends, and at least to have the full liberty to go out whenever we pleased, and to move about wherever we might choose in his territories, as above all things, confinement was particularly irksome to us. On this he began to relax a little; said that there had been a mistake made by Currum Chund in inviting us; but that, as we were here, it was all well; that it was his anxiety about our persons which made him wish we should have no communication with the inhabitants, who were little to be depended upon; and that he would rather lose two thousand of his own subjects than that any one of our people should come to harm.

" I made a proper return to this unexpected sally of friendship, and then proceeded to remark, that as I could not now depend upon

any thing that Hadjee Hamed had interpreted, I could no longer be certain whether the mules were sent down by the Ras for our conveyance and accommodation; that, if they were, I begged to return him our most grateful acknowledgments; but, if they belonged to any other person, I should be obliged to him to permit me to make the owner of them a proper recompense. By this I hoped to alarm his pride, if he had any, and prevent any further complaints or demands on that account. He was, as I expected, hurt at the remark, and begged that I would not mention any thing of the kind again, as they were "bad words;" that my wishes, whatever they were, should be complied with; and that I had only to make them known to have them immediately carried into effect. I proceeded directly to urge Mr. Carter's going down to Buré, as an affair of the greatest importance. The Ras told me that he had sent two messengers thither for the chief of that place, who would certainly arrive by Saturday next, and that Mr. Carter might then return with him as I desired.

"Our journey to Axum and Adowa was the next topic; the Ras said, that it would be my best plan to set out as soon as possible, since his army was, in a short time, to assemble from all quarters, and I might return to Antalow with the detachment from Adowa; he added, that as he could not trust our persons on the road between Adowa and Dixan (without stating some reason for it), he wished us to return to Massowah by the road which we came, as being perfectly secure.

"I entirely assented to these points, adding, that he was, no doubt, the best judge of what was practicable. After which, I informed him that I should wish to set out for Axum the day after

the morrow, and that as he thought, from the state of the roads, that it would be better for me to go with as few attendants as possible, it was my intention to take with me only two servants, and during my absence I would leave Captain Rudland under his protection at Antalow, and Mr. Carter might at the same time execute the plan of paying a visit to Buré. He was perfectly satisfied with this arrangement, and said, that two mules should be in readiness for me, and men to carry what baggage I might want. I then returned to the subject of the Jews' rock, and expressed my anxiety to see it, as being desirous of giving my countrymen some idea of a place that, till he took it, had been always considered as impregnable, and which Ras Michael Suhul had not dared to attack when Ayto Tesfos, governor of Samen, had fled thither for refuge. He expressed much surprise at my knowledge of this circumstance; but was evidently highly pleased with the compliment, and promised to arrange the expedition for me on my return from Axum, as by that time the waters of the Taccazza would have subsided. He added, that there was not such another fortress in the whole country; that it was extremely high, and the water upon the top was often covered with a substance like glass, and as hard as stone, (by which he undoubtedly meant ice) and moreover that a plant was found there, which would kill any person treading upon it, if he happened to have the least sore upon his foot. He concluded by telling me that he would order Hadjee Hamed to come to me in the morning, who, notwithstanding what had passed, would be the best person to attend me to Axum and Adowa, as he was well acquainted with both those places. He then shook us cordially by the hand, and we returned to our apartment, to the great satisfaction

of a number of his chiefs, who had been long waiting at the door for an audience. The happy turn which this conference had effected in our favour, was likewise very gratifying to our whole party.

" September 5.—We passed this day in our apartment, the Ras being assiduously engaged in deciding causes of considerable importance. He indeed gives up the greater part of every morning to hearing the complaints of his subjects, over whom he rules with most absolute sway, as their lives and property depend entirely upon his nod. The parties who appear before him are very vociferous, and, when provoked by their opponents, often employ such violent gesticulations, that one would suppose, that at times, even the presence of the Ras would scarcely withhold them from proceeding to blows.

" Baharnegash Yasous paid us a visit in the morning with permission from the Ras, and was treated by us with all the attention in our power. He was about to return to Dixan, not daring to stay any longer at Antalow without the consent of the Ras, of whom he stood greatly in awe. I made him a present of ten dollars for his expenses on the road, informing him that I was afraid of parting with more, lest I should be unable to supply my own wants. He was very grateful for this trifle, and made many professions of friendship, the sincerity of which I had no reason to question. It is a remarkable circumstance, that two of our best friends, Yasous, and Subagadis, were bitter enemies. We had some reason to fear that poor Yasous, during his stay at Antalow, had been but slenderly provided, even with food; for he sent to us several times for bread; a fact which indicates in how abject a state all ranks are kept by the present governor of Tigré. Hadjee Hamed paid us a short visit, and

positively denied having told the Ras that he had been induced to absent himself for fear of his life.

" I sent to the Ras in the evening, to remind him of my intended journey to Axum. He informed me in return, that he had fixed Monday next for our departure, on which day he intended to accompany me as far as Muccullah, where a celebrated church stands, at which solemn prayers were to be put up for the success of the ensuing campaign. I told him that I had not before so understood him, but that it was the more agreeable to me, as I was anxious to see the chief from Buré before I left Antalow, which I should now probably have an opportunity of doing.

" I this day prepared a letter for Lord Valentia, to be sent by Mr. Carter, and finished some more of my sketches. Much rain fell, which made the air cold. The thermometer at noon was only 61°.

" September 6.—It being fast-day with the inhabitants, we received a citron and a quantity of wheaten bread from the Ras. I dispatched a message this morning, requesting that the priest might be sent for, from whom I was anxious to procure information concerning the history of this country. The Ras replied, that he was at present much engaged, but that he would send for the priest, and as soon as the hall was cleared, would give me an audience. After some time I took the liberty of sending in another message; but notwithstanding all my requests and remonstrances, I was unable to get a sight either of the Ras, or the priest, during the whole day.

" At five o'clock Hadjee Hamed again visited me, and after a preamble, in which he denied having before refused to accompany

me to Axum, he at length told me, that he intended to quit my service, having hitherto received no compensation for his trouble. I told him, that it had always been my intention to make him a suitable present; but that with the English, there was also a great distinction between making presents, and paying. I begged, therefore, to know whether he had received any thing from the Ras. He replied, that he was indeed in the yearly pay of the Ras, and had attended upon us in consequence of his orders; but that at the same time, he had been informed that he would receive from us handsome presents. Upon this I said, that if I could procure any money upon a bill in my possession, drawn upon the Ras by Currum Chund, I would immediately give him what I had at first intended; but, that if I should be deceived in this expectation, it would be much more convenient if he would go with me to Adowa, where I probably might, by negotiating the bill, raise a fresh supply of money, as the stock that I had brought into the country was nearly exhausted. To this he replied, that the Ras had no money, nor should I be able to get any at Adowa, nobody in this country knowing any thing about bills of exchange. On which I answered, that if such were the case, it was the more necessary for me to be careful of the little I had left; and so ended our argument. This information proved extremely unpleasant, as our stock was then reduced to less than three hundred dollars. The conference, however, in some degree let me into their secrets, and I had no doubt but that Hadjee Hamed had been acting a double part throughout. There was rain in the middle of the day, and the air was cold, the thermometer being 60 and 61° in our room at mid-day.

"September 7.—The Ras again evaded seeing us till evening,

on the plea of business, which I believe was the truth. At the time appointed I went down into the hall, and found him engaged in a conference with Subagadis. In the court-yard beyond, was Thadoo, who, after the departure of his brother, was also called into the Ras's presence. By this time it was so late that our meeting was again postponed till night, for which purpose I was ordered to keep awake. Captain Rudland, however, saw the Ras, and found him in his usual good humour. There was rain in the afternoon, but the evening was very fine. The thermometer was 62°.

" September 8.—At four in the morning I was called to attend the Ras: he was in the hall crouching by a large fire, with his brother Manassé; Hadjee Hamed and the builder were in waiting as interpreters. I proceeded to express my regret at not having seen him for some days, which he politely excused on the plea of business. After some desultory conversation about our intended journey, he once more put the question, " what are you come for?" adding, " I have much in my heart to say to you, if I could explain myself without speaking through so many mouths, and I judge from this, that you have much to say to me." I was proceeding to explain again the purport of our mission, when he stopped me, desiring that I would commit to writing what I might have to communicate; promising in that case, after giving it full consideration, to reply in a similar way, by which means he thought that we should more fully understand each other. Nothing could be more agreeable than this proposal, to which I immediately assented.

" Foreseeing the probability of wanting a supply of cash, I thought the present a favourable opportunity to present my letter of credit from Currum Chund; yet I was somewhat loth to do this

after having understood the sense of it, (for I had in conference with Hadjee Hamed, examined its contents) as it appeared to me rather a petition for presents, than a proper letter of business. Not knowing, however, the way in which these matters were transacted between Currum Chund and the Ras, and there being no other sufficient cause for my keeping it back, I determined to deliver it. On opening the subject to the Ras, his first question was, " what did I want money for?" as it was his intention to supply us with every thing requisite till we should again arrive at Massowah. I then gave him to understand, that it was rather from the necessity of satisfying the demands of his own servants, than from any want of money for my own use. After my reply, he thus continued: " this is a town of cattle, bread and honey; why do you want money? there is none to be had here; and besides, Currum Chund has with me neither money nor credit; and it appears to me that he has been playing tricks with you." He added; " however, it is of no consequence; we are friends; and every thing that you may want, you shall have, till you are safe at Massowah." After this I could not say more on the subject, except explaining, as well as I was able, the nature of money transactions among the English, and that the present letter was merely a matter of business. We then took leave.

" After this, being obliged to consult rather my ability than my inclination, I presented to Hadjee Hamed ten dollars, and as many pieces of blue cloth, and the same to Negada Moosa; both of whom received the donation with a very ill grace. I had an intimation from the Ras, that when I arrived at Dixan he was informed all our boxes were filled with gold. I took pretty good care to undeceive

him on this head, and I should think that he has since been pretty well satisfied of the truth of my representation.

" September 9.—At four o'clock in the morning I was awakened by Pearce, who brought me word that the Ras was gone, and had left only three mules for our accommodation. As there was no person able to explain to me the arrangements made by the Ras for our expedition to Axum, I was for some time greatly at a loss what to do, especially as it had before been determined that Captain Rudland and Mr. Carter should go with the Ras, as far as he intended to accompany us on the way to Adowa ; a plan which was now entirely frustrated. After much anxiety on the subject, I was at length in some measure relieved by the presence of Guebra Selassé, who had received orders to attend me on my journey. He said that the Ras was waiting for me at no great distance from Antalow, and that, as no directions had been given respecting our baggage, it would be my best way to lose no time in overtaking him, as I might then procure an order to have the baggage sent after me.

" Having parted with our friends, about seven o'clock, I set out on my journey, attended by Pearce and Andrew, mounted on mules, and Ibrahim, my interpreter of the country language, on foot ; and in order to provide against accidents, I made Pearce conceal fifty dollars about his person ; for at this time it was not very clear what were the intentions of the Ras.

" After passing a small brook in the valley, we began to ascend the north-eastern side of the hill of Antalow, the brow of which was steep, rugged, and bare. On our left, at the bottom, were lying large fragments of rock, that at some distant period had fallen from the

summit. The ridges over which our road lay were partly cultivated, and by no means difficult of ascent. On the highest point over which we passed were the ruins of a village, and beyond, almost concealed by high trees of luxuriant growth, was a picturesque village called Haraqué. Our guide, Guebra Selassé, and a chief who was going by, both dismounted from their mules as they passed the church, a mark of respect which is generally paid by the Christians of this country. Our descent was rapid from one hill to another, the tops of all which were well clothed with plants of various kinds. On a rising ground to our right was a village of considerable extent called Lahaina, from which place our road, turning a little more to the west, led through a more cultivated country, thickly set with Acacia and brushwood and flowering shrubs; at the bottom of one of the hills was a brook, the banks of which were shaded by the kantuffa, which I here met with for the first time. It runs among other low trees, and being then in blossom, made by no means an unpicturesque appearance. After passing several more hills we came in sight of Muccullah, in the vicinity of which, on the top of a hill, is a large church, that forms a very conspicuous object across the plain. The land about the town is in a high state of cultivation; the soil consists of a rich black loam. We found the Ras at this place. He had just finished his morning's repast; but after receiving me very cordially, and having seated me on the couch beside him, he ordered some beef to be grilled, which, though brought to me nearly raw, I eat with great satisfaction, the journey having given me a very keen appetite. After drinking four brulhes of maize, (without which the Ras would not permit me to depart), I begged leave to retire, and was led to a small

but comfortable hut in appearance, within the first wall surrounding the church. I recognized in my conductor, Debib, chief of Negashé, who was come up to attend the Ras.

" I computed our course this day to have been nine miles, in a direction nearly N. N. E. The stone, of which some of the uncultivated hills that we to day passed over is formed, lies in horizontal strata, and is divided by vertical fissures into square blocks, when exposed on the sides of the hill, which often gives it the appearance of ancient ruins.

" September 10.—After passing an uncomfortable night from the swarms of vermin with which the hut was infested, and a continual noise kept up by the priests, I arose and paid a visit to the church, where I understood the Ras had been in the course of the night. I was received with much attention by the priests, the greatest part of whom were engaged in singing, and jingling keys, one of which was in the right hand of each; they accompanied this with most violent gestures and grimaces, performing rather the part of antics on a stage, than of persons employed in devotion. After complying with the custom of the country in kissing the threshold of the door, I was admitted into the inner circle. The church, however, presents nothing particularly worthy of observation: it is ornamented with paintings, like those at Chelicut; and the only difference that I observed was, that on a cross was written I N R I. in Roman characters, the meaning of which the priests seemed perfectly to understand. I afterwards proceeded to the Ras's house, where I found a long table set out, and a great quantity of bread cakes piled up: I was seated on the couch beside him, and had the honour of being fed from his own hands. There were present the

Ballambarras, or master of the bread department, the Baharnegash of Dixan, the Chief of Debib, who was in waiting, and many others of equal authority. There were four changes of guests at the table, and three large jars of maize were emptied, each of which contained at least half a hogshead. I was prevailed upon by the Ras to eat a small portion of brinde, and am satisfied that it is merely prejudice which deters us from this food. The priests of the neighbouring churches were fed first, and all did justice to the brinde and maize.

" The Ras pointed out to me two Falasha, or Jews, who came in during the feast, and afterwards politely sent them to the house where I lodged, that I might ask them what questions I pleased. I procured from them, however, but little information. They acknowledge no king, except the sovereign of the country, the line of Gideon being extinct. They told me that they were very numerous at Gondar, and in the provinces of Knara and Samen, and that their chief employment consisted in building and thatching houses. They have not any books of consequence except at Gondar, and those are of no great antiquity. They pretend to have entered the country in the time of Memileh.

" I was afterwards visited by Debib of Negashé, who came to solicit presents for his attention to us on the road. Captain Rudland had just arrived from Antalow, and was eating some mutton that had been provided by our guide; Debib joined him with much satisfaction in the consumption of the joint, during which I gained from him the following intelligence. He commanded a very considerable extent of country, containing at least thirty villages, for which he paid to the Ras one hundred and fifty wakeas of gold, twenty oxen, and as many skins of honey, besides one matchlock;

but for this latter, if difficult to procure, he compromised for fifty pieces of cloth, valued at about one dollar each. He owned that his father had paid a tribute double the amount of this in the time of Ras Michael.

" I sent to the Ras in the evening, and mentioned Captain Rudland's arrival, saying, that we would pay our compliments to him whenever he might appoint. He fixed upon seven o'clock, but afterwards put it off till the morning. The thermometer was 64° in the evening. There fell a little rain in the afternoon.

" September 11.—On rising in the morning, we were much surprised to receive salaams from the Ras, and information that he was gone; nor was it, till after much enquiry, that I could ascertain that he had gone on a hunting party, and would not be back until evening. It was not without much regret that I left Captain Rudland without an interpreter; but every preparation being made in Muccullah for our departure, I was unwilling to lose any more time, and accordingly set out with my attendants for Adowa. The view of the village of Muccullah from the bottom of the hill is extremely picturesque; but as we had a long journey before us, I was not able to spare time for a sketch. We first went over the plain of Jambela, in a N. N. W. direction. The whole of this plain, extending about eight miles in length, and from two to four in breadth, was in a high state of cultivation, or rather of preparation for it, as the inhabitants were busily employed in ploughing. It contains at least forty inhabited villages, besides several in ruins. Afterwards we turned off to the westward over a barren hill, where the road was much incommoded by loose stones and shrubby bushes and trees, which, as we advanced, were so closely set as to form a

thick and shady covert. Before us was a house belonging to the Ras, in a small valley through which runs the river Gibbeh, from which the mansion takes its name. Our guide here desired us to halt, and produced for our refreshment some cold mutton, of which we made a very hearty meal. Pursuing our road, we passed along a narrow and rather deep valley, part of which had been lately cleared for cultivation; the rest was thickly set with brushwood, and afforded a fine cover for grouse, guinea fowls, and partridges, all of which were in great abundance; but we did not see a single deer, though the country appeared of a description highly favourable to these animals. This gully, as it may be called, is about five miles in length, and at the end of it we mounted a lofty hill, on which is the village of Hasemko, by the Chief of which we were received with much attention. Our course I reckoned to be about fifteen miles in a north-west direction. The thermometer on our arrival was 86°.

"September 12.—We left the village at an early hour, after making the lady of the mansion, who was a very agreeable and pretty woman, a trifling present; it having been intimated to me that she had been put to much inconvenience to make room for us yesterday evening.

"Our road lay over the hill to the south-west, the inhabitants, who seem ever desirous of turning the road from cultivated plains, having led it in this direction to a gap in the side of the hill made by the falling down of a great mass of rock. We now wound round the summit of the hill, chiefly in a western course, till we reached the village of Admára, about three miles distant, above which is a church dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen. We here

inclined more to the north, passing a sloping plain, some part of which the inhabitants were ploughing for the first time, in spite of the stones and shrubs that impeded the progress of the bullocks, whose unnecessary toil we could not but pity, especially when we saw them lashed unmercifully by the drivers, who carry in the right hand a whip that leaves a mark wherever it strikes. We now came to the lower part of a mountainous ridge called Atbara, where we were joined by our guide, who had before gone off another way, and had appointed to meet us. I had just killed a small bird, much like the humming bird, and had with great difficulty dug up a few bulbs. The descent hence is extremely steep, and so much incommoded with loose stones, that we were obliged to dismount from our mules, and before we reached the bottom, had reason to exclaim that it was as bad as the descent of Taranta. About half way down a few houses and a church are built under the shelter of projecting rocks, in a very picturesque situation. We met a kafila on its way to Antalow preparing to go up the steep that we had just descended. After we had with much toil reached the bottom, it was not a little provoking to find that, on passing the brook, it became necessary to climb another ascent before we could get out of the valley. Afterwards, the vegetation began to vary considerably, the country being much more thickly set with trees, some of which were of a large size. The soil was poor, and of a sandy nature; and we passed one entire bed of loose sand nearly a mile in extent. Proceeding about three miles to the north, we halted by a running stream, and took our usual repast; and being soon after overtaken by rain, we pursued our journey with all expedition for another stage of about six miles, when we arrived, just as

it grew dark, at the mansion of Barrambarras Toklu. We were received kindly by the master of the house, and treated most hospitably with a banquet of brinde and maize. In the course of it he introduced to us his wife, who is the sister of Subagadis, to whom I presented beads and a looking glass. Our host was chief of the district of Tembla, and a man of consequence, having many soldiers with matchlocks in his service. He was in high spirits, was very jovial, and wished me to stay in the country, promising to give me his daughter in marriage. Much jocular conversation ensued, the maize was handed briskly around, and we all took our full portion, about sixteen brulhes being drank by each person present, ladies as well as gentlemen.

" September 13. — At a very early hour in the morning we quitted the village of Gullybudda, where we had been so hospitably entertained, and which appeared to be a place of considerable extent and population. We travelled about three miles N. N. W. through a picturesque and tolerably well-wooded country; but the trees were of a small size, and scarcely timber. Birds of many different kinds were singing among the branches of all the lower trees, the extremities of which were hung with numerous nests. Our first halt was by the side of the river Warie,* which was running with great rapidity to the westward. Though at present a small stream, there were evident marks of its magnitude in the rainy season; for on both sides were seen sticks and weeds among the branches of the trees at least fifteen feet above the surface of its present bed, which had been lodged there by the floods. Our people soon made a fire, killed a sheep which had been presented

* Warie means merely a torrent.

to me on the day before, and grilled a part of it for our breakfast. From this place our road turned more to the westward, over lofty and rugged hills, all of which, however, were for the most part cultivated. We passed the villages of Tsai; which, with their territory, form a free district under one of the Ras's nephews. It is however but a wretched domain, the soil being very sandy, and entirely occupied in many parts by kolquall; the surface is farther incumbered by rocks of slate in nearly vertical strata. After having journeyed about six miles north north-west from our last station, we made another halt at about two o'clock by the side of a stream, where we saw several birds, one of which I have no doubt was the black eagle of Bruce. His drawing of it appears to be very correct; but in its habits, this bird more resembles an hawk than an eagle, for it perches on the tops of trees, and on being driven from one, flies to another. We again resumed our march, passing over wild hills covered with brushwood, part of which was clearing for cultivation, till we gained the top of a hill about four miles and a half from our last halting place, where we were to be accommodated for the night. Fit Aurari Yasous, the master of the mansion, was absent; we were however ushered into the hall, and on his return were presented with a goat and other eatables. There being no maize for drink, we were obliged to put up with booza, which is made from the crumbs of all sorts of bread, and greatly resembles bad, sour, small beer with a toast in it. Our present host was advanced in years, very tall, fierce and ugly; he is said to behave very tyranically towards his people, and we ourselves could bear testimony to the roughnes of his manners.

"September 14.—We found our host much more civil and

attentive in the morning than on the preceding evening, bread and hot milk being prepared for us at a very early hour; and he himself insisting on accompanying us to some distance from his house. Our road lay over a plain, skirting along the side of a lofty conical mountain, at the top of which is the church or convent of Abou Sama. On our right we saw a house formerly belonging to the Ras, and presented by him to Barrambarras Toklu. After travelling about three miles and a half, we arrived at the mansion of Bashaw Guebra Eyat, a man of much consequence in the country, who is able to bring into the field a large body of soldiers armed with matchlocks, a circumstance on which the importance of the Chiefs much depends. He was a middle-aged man of pleasing manners, and treated us with much hospitality. We proceeded, in about an hour, on our journey, winding round rugged hills covered with brushwood, and along the ledges of steep precipices, a fall from which, into the plain below, would have been certain death. The kolquall abounds in this part of the country, which, though cultivated wherever circumstances would admit, is not very productive, on account of its dry and sandy nature. We met a poor woman, on the hill, who accosted me in a supplicatory tone, and begged that I would give her some physic for a child which she carried at her back, and who, according to her report, was afflicted with an evil spirit. I could only recommend her to the protection of God, assuring her that the nature of such dreadful maladies was far beyond my skill.

" The hills that we had been passing over consist almost entirely of a brown calcareous stone, being for the most part in perpendicular strata; hence, instead of flat tabular elevations, as is the case

where the strata lie horizontally, the forms presented by these hills are generally inclining to pyramidal. The whole country is well watered, springs being found on almost every mountain.

" As we advanced, the country bore a better appearance; the plains were covered with richer soil, but for want of draining were much swamped from the springs above. We had advanced about nine miles, ascending and descending, when we mounted a ridge that brought us in sight of the church of Abba Garima, which, though not in the straight road to Adowa, I determined to visit. In order to reach this building, we had to cross a nearly circular valley, closed in on all sides with high but irregular hills. A stream of water runs through this valley, and wild date trees, at that time covered with fruit, were scattered over its surface. From having found this tree only in the neighbourhood of religious houses of unknown antiquity, I am led to conjecture that it was introduced by the Christian fathers who came hither from Egypt.

" The church of Abba Garima is said to have been built in the reign of Guebra Mascal, about the year 560; it is situated on a low projection of the circular ridge, by which the valley is bounded on the north-west, and is not very difficult of access. It is surrounded by oxy-cedars and daroo trees of luxuriant growth, and wild date trees of so great a height as to have the appearance of cocoa-nut trees.

" The road, winding to the church, is much incommoded with large and rugged masses of rocks, among the crevices of which runs a trickling stream; from the head of this path, thirty rough steps lead up to a wretched shed, forming the porch of the church. We passed through this into an open area walled round, in the

center of which is the main building, of a square form, and divided by a passage that runs through it into two unequal compartments. It is built of solid masses of stone and timber, which have in some places been strengthened by bars of iron, and the but-ends of all the beams and planks have been rounded and left projecting, as ornaments. Within are some miserable paintings, of which one represents Abbou Garima, with a long white beard and mustachios, wearing a turban, and seated according to the Turkish fashion. He is attended by many others dressed like himself, among whom is one with mustachios only. Several priests were present, and were very attentive in shewing us the whole of the building. The only account that they could give of the place, was the fabulous one, that Abbou Garima, 1500 years ago, was brought from Secundria hither in one night by the angel Gabriel, and after residing here a long time, was carried away in as mysterious a manner, and has never since been heard of; in commemoration of whom this church was erected by Guebra Mascal, who then reigned in Abyssinia. This, according to the Abyssinian annals, would bring his coming down to 500 anno Domini instead of 300, as Guebra Mascal was the successor of Elesbaas, who was cotemporary with the Roman Emperor Justin.

" We were obliged to hasten away as speedily as possible, in order to reach Adowa before night; and after toiling over a road perpetually ascending and descending, sometimes swampy, sometimes rocky, and at all times much incumbered with loose stones, we at length came in sight of the town, enveloped in smoke. The market was just over, and the people, who were returning to their respective villages, were all curious enough to see the strangers;

but they uniformly behaved with much respect and civility. We arrived by sunset at the end of our journey, and were immediately conducted to the Ras's house, and introduced to Nebrida Aram and Basha Abdallah, who were waiting to receive me. A nephew of Nebrida Aram soon after came in, accompanied by a great number of his people. The evening was spent with great conviviality; many chiefs of considerable rank were present, among whom was a nephew of Ras Michael, with whom I had much conversation about his uncle; nor shall I soon forget the astonishment excited in the whole company by my knowledge of the public transactions in Abyssinia during the last fifty years. Nebrida Aram appeared very old and infirm, having lost the use of his left arm; he is said to be very rich, and doubtless possessed much power, being left here in charge by the Ras, whose horses were still fastened up in the hall. An upper apartment was prepared for me, but I found it so cold that I returned into the hall. The old gentleman politely made an excuse for not giving up to me the whole of the hall; he ordered it, however, to be divided by a screen, and we all slept in this apartment, Nebrida Aram and his suite, the Ras's horses, myself, and servants.

"September 18.—I retired to the room prepared for me, that I might finish some rough drawings of plants. After breakfast the mules were brought, and I proceeded to examine whatever was interesting in the town and neighbourhood, accompanied by Pearce and Andrew, who fortunately had completely established their character as Christians, in consequence of which I was enabled to get over many difficulties which would otherwise have been insurmountable.

"We were first taken to the church of St. Mariam, and on our

H. Salt. delt.

J. Greig. sculpt.

THE TOWN OF ADOWE.

way saw a hyæna lying dead in the road, of the same species as the one Captain Rudland killed at Dixan, but much larger; it had been killed by spears.

" St. Mariam affords nothing worthy of remark; it is built exactly in the same style as the churches already described, but is inferior in every respect. We were attended by a crowd of the inhabitants, who pressed forward to get a sight of us, shouting and laughing, and the women making a clapping noise peculiar to themselves, all expressive of their pleasure and astonishment.

" We now proceeded westward out of the town, crossing the plain, and a stream called Assa, till we arrived at another called the Mai Gogua, which runs northward with great rapidity down the valley. After riding along the bank of this stream about three quarters of a mile, we crossed it, and ascended a hill immediately beyond, on which stand the remains of the convent of Fremona, as it was called by the Jesuits, by whom it was founded; but this name, if ever adopted by the inhabitants, is now wholly unknown. Within the walls, which are at present in ruins, stands the church of St. George, a poor and wretched edifice in the form of a parallelogram, with the internal walls painted in the usual style. The roof is an awkward and imperfect attempt at a dome. On the north side of the church is the appearance of a large tank or pool, and upon a small and higher eminence at the extremity of the northern brow of the hill, is a square building, with an open door-way on each side, in which is hung a large bell marked with Ethiopic characters. The outer wall, and all the inclosed buildings, are composed of small stones, laid very inartificially, and cemented with mud. Some parts of the wall are still thirty feet high, and at the

angles are round abutments; yet it does not appear to have ever been a place of strength, though Bruce has thought proper to represent the buttresses as flanking towers, and the belfry as a citadel.

" On our way back we turned off to the church of St. Michael, which is placed on a rising ground on the east side of the valley. It is surrounded on all sides by trees, and is by much the most respectable in appearance, of any at Adowa. We had by this time been joined by our attending crowd; and on my coming out of the church a woman fell at my feet, and implored me to heal her son, who was deaf and dumb; nor was it without great difficulty that I was able to get rid of her importunity, by representing to her that the performance of such a cure was a miracle, and only capable of being effected by the immediate power of God. I found in waiting a mule, belonging to the Ras, which Nebrida Aram had sent for my use; accordingly I mounted, and proceeded amidst the acclamations of an immense throng into the city,

" Adowa, situated on the eastern side of a valley, about a mile across, is a place of considerable extent, and has a striking appearance on account of the multitude of Wanza trees, which are thickly planted in the inclosures around the houses. I this day procured the flower and fruit, the latter of which is said by the inhabitants to be good eating when ripe; and I found Bruce's drawing of this tree, so far as it goes, correct.

" Adowa supplies great quantities of cloth, principally of a coarse quality, which circulates as money through the country, and is the principal currency in which the chiefs pay their annual tribute. Each piece is about sixteen cubits long, and one and three-quarters wide; its value is thirty pieces of salt, or one dollar. Some of the

finer cloths are valued as high as twelve dollars for a dress, each dress being fifty cubits in length: these are worn only by the principal men of the country. The native Christian manufacturer will make only three dresses of the fine cloth in a year: the Mussulmauns will make more, but of an inferior quality, and therefore bearing a less price. I received from Nebrida Aram a bullock and two sheep, and another from his nephew; also two sheep and two jars of maize from the head men of the place, and one sheep from Basha Abdallah.

"September 16.—We did not leave Adowa until ten o'clock, having been detained by some difficulty about our baggage, occasioned by our having bought a few samples of fine and coarse cloths manufactured here, which we found it impossible to leave in safety at Adowa, as Nebrida Aram and Basha Abdallah were both going to Antalow to the muster of the troops before the Ras.

"On going down into the hall to pay my compliments to Nebrida Aram, I was unexpectedly introduced to one of the royal family, who was sitting with him on the couch. This was no less a person than Fasilydas, son of Yasous, who was placed on the throne by Ras Guxo. He gave me an extremely polite reception, and was very curious in examining every thing belonging to my dress. He asked me whether I intended to go to Gondar; and on my saying that I wished it, but was prevented by the unsettled state of public affairs, he asked me to go with him; which I was obliged to decline. I soon took my leave, as it was impossible for me to ask any questions, owing to my ignorance of his present situation in Tigré, and from knowing that my guide, who was present, was extremely suspicious of every thing that I said. After I had mounted my mule,

the Prince came out with his slender retinue, and requested me to dismount, seeming extremely anxious to speak with me in private. On my complying, and going apart with my interpreter to hear what he had to communicate, Guebra Selassé called out most vociferously to him in an angry tone, which compelled us very reluctantly to part in silence. His complexion was extremely dark, but his features were good: he was living at this time under the protection of the Ras; by whom, under the guise of respect, he was kept in a state of honourable restraint.

"Our road from Adowa lay along the valley in nearly a westward direction: we crossed the Mai Gogua, and another stream, which I suppose may be the Riberani of Bruce; and after travelling about five miles, arrived at the extremity of the valley, marked by a peaked hill, green up to the top, on which stands the church of Hannes; and immediately opposite, on a smaller rising ground, the church of Anna Mariam. Hither the Ras, as governor of Tigré, when residing at Adowa, used to come out to meet any message from the King. The direct road to Axum passes by the side of this hill; but our guide informing me there was a curious place called Calam Negus, in the neighbourhood, we turned off a little to the northward for the purpose of visiting it. On our way we met with a grandson of Ras Michael, mounted on a mule; he stopped to ask me for some medicine for a well known disorder said to be very prevalent here, which I was obliged to evade on the true plea of having left it at Antalow. Notwithstanding this application, from all the enquiries we made during my stay in the country, I am of opinion, that the venereal disease does not exist in Abyssinia: debility, and a bad sort of itch, common in the country, are generally

VIEW OF THE CHURCH OF HANNES, ON THE WAY TO AXUM.

mistaken for it. This last disease always yielded to an application of gunpowder and lemon juice. The descendant of Michael the Great was living on a scanty allowance drawn from the province which his grandfather ruled with such absolute power. He had twenty fields allowed him by the Ras Welleta Selassé, who also had the condescension to make him the same annual present as he bestows on his soldiers. This small possession was probably not far distant, for we soon after passed an old woman who was formerly an attendant on the old Ras. We continued journeying nearly due west, and passed over a hill, the top of which was one continued bed of iron ore. The next hill was covered with spar. Beyond this we crossed a plain fully six miles in extent, which brought us at length to the place of our destination. Its appearance promised but little; but on examination it proved, to our great satisfaction, to be of far more consequence than we had expected.

" It consists of two excavations formed in the hill, and cased and covered with large blocks of brown granite, one of which, serving as a cover to one of the cells, measured eleven feet and a quarter by eight and a quarter. An idea of the whole will be best obtained by inspecting the plan drawn on an accurate scale from a measurement made on the spot.* These caves are, with respect to each other, in a direction very nearly north and south; the workmanship is good, but rough; the stone having all the marks of the chissel. The first, (marked B, vide plan), our guides informed us was the road by which Calam Negus went to Ierusalem, and " if any person should take a candle into it at night, he would distinctly see the whole of the way to that holy city." This personage I sup-

* This is lost, but one is supplied from memory,

pose to be Caleb Negas, a king who reigned in the country about the year 522, and who was cotemporary with the Emperor Justin: he was celebrated for a successful incursion into Arabia against the Homerites, and on his return sent his crown to Jerusalem to be suspended in the temple.* We managed to find the entire extent of this cave, at which our guides were not a little astonished. The second cave, (marked C,) is very nearly closed up by earth that has fallen in; but as there was a glimpse of something like pillars, I determined not to be deterred by any trifling difficulties. Accordingly Pearce and myself crept down into it on our knees, and when we had once passed the entrance, found it to be much more curious than the first. The door way, leading into the outer cell, is extremely well fashioned; the capitals of the supporting pillars are formed with the butt ends of the cross stones projecting over the erect ones. Within are three plain tombs standing at right angles to the walls of the cell, in a direction nearly east and west, on a pavement raised about four inches from the floor. The cover of the center one is displaced, and lying partly broken on one of the others; the two side tombs are entire.

"The side cells of this excavation are of much greater depth than the middle one. We satisfactorily ascertained the whole extent of the place, by following the walls till they brought us again to the entrance, not being able to procure lights. The only living creatures that we perceived within, were bats. At a little distance were some large loose stones, ready squared for building; but to what purpose they had been applied it was impossible to ascertain. A ridiculous circumstance occurred on our being about to leave

* Ludolf. lib. 2. chap. 44.

Plan of the Ruins of Axum with a Sketch of the Adjoining Country.

by Henry Salt

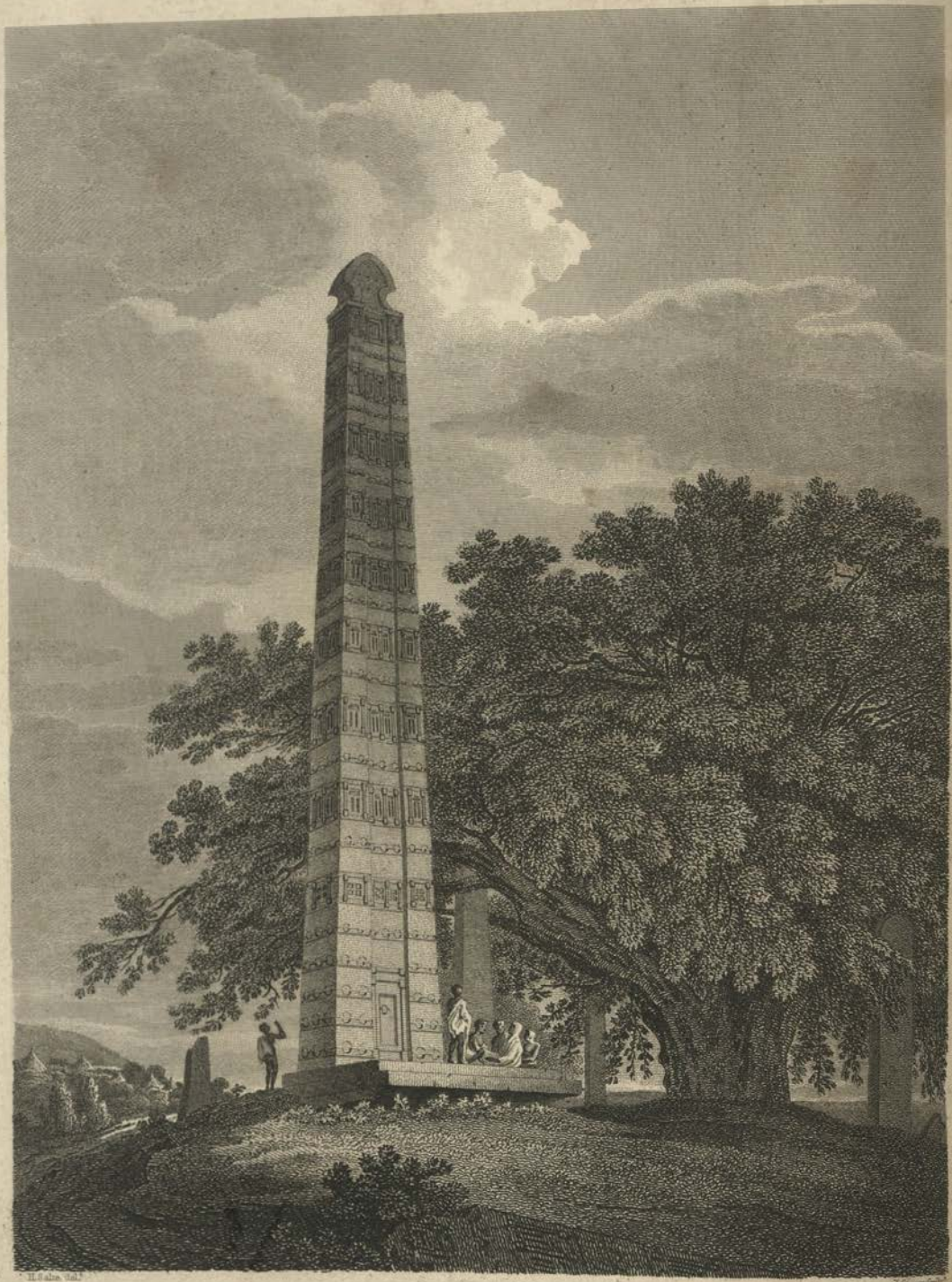
Published May 1st 1809 by Wm Miller Albemarle Street

this place: I had left my whip in the first cave; all our Habesh attendants supposed it to be in the other, to which they sent one of the boys to fetch it; in the mean time I myself descended into the first, and brought it up; nor was it possible to persuade them that Calam Negus had not brought it to me out of the other, which absurd story they often afterwards seriously repeated. These curious remains of antiquity lie nearly west of the hills above Adowa, which were at this time in sight, and about a mile from the skirts of Axum, to which we descended in a south-western direction.

CHAPTER III.

MR. SALT'S NARRATIVE CONTINUED.

Account of Axum.—The Obelisk,—the Church,—the Priests,—the King's Chair.—An Ethiopic Inscription, and conjectural Explanation of it.—A Greek Inscription.—General State of the Ruins.—Observations on Mr. Bruce's Account of Axum.——Departure from Axum.—Arrival at Adowa.—Visit to Ozoro Tishai.—Return to Antalow.—Captain Rudland's Account of his Proceedings during Mr. Salt's absence.



OBELISK AT AXUM.

Published 1 May 1809 by William Miller, Albemarle Street, London.

CHAPTER III.

THE first impression on beholding Axum church, is its great resemblance to the Gothic seats of noblemen in England. As we came nearer, we passed the fallen ruins of a great number of obelisks, some of which present no appearance of having been ever decorated with sculpture, while others seem to have had much attention paid to them in this respect; at length, after passing a large reservoir of water on our left, we were much gratified with a view of an obelisk still erect, which had been hitherto concealed by a large Daroo tree, and is undoubtedly the one mentioned by Poncet, and afterwards described and drawn by Bruce. It is about eighty feet high, and formed out of a single block of granite, curiously carved, and in excellent proportion. My attention was for a long time rivetted on this beautiful and extraordinary monument, of which, however, the elevation published by the traveller last mentioned, can furnish no idea. It is difficult to conceive the method by which such a solid mass of granite was raised; and the astonishment excited at the magnitude of the work was more particularly striking, after passing through a country now reduced to so rude a state as Abyssinia. A little way below this only obelisk that has withstood the effects of time, and which appears so perfect that it might be supposed to have been lately erected, we came opposite to the church, which Bruce has most unjustly depreciated, since, when

compared with all others in Tigré, it has no rival (except Chelicut) with respect to size, richness, nor sanctity. The priests were very unwilling at first to admit us; but the name and authority of the Ras, at length brought them to a compliance. The only cause of their reluctance, as we afterwards discovered, arose from their not having prepared all their finery to enhance the dignity of our reception. The principal circumstance worthy of notice in the external appearance of the church, is its height, which cannot be less than forty feet. The colonnade in front is supported by four massive square pillars about five feet in diameter, composed of small stones, and covered with plaister. On requesting to see the inside of the building, the farther folding door was thrown open, and singing was heard in a distant apartment; some of the priests then came forward reciting prayers, and burning incense. All the books, and rich dresses belonging to the church, were afterwards brought for my examination: the former are of a large size, and covered with gilding and figures in relief; the latter are so like those which we saw at Chelicut, as not to need a particular description.

"I learned from the books in this place, that the first Christian church at Axum was built eleven hundred and forty years ago, at the same time as that of Abrahasubah, and was destroyed by Mohamed Gragné in the year 1526; the present church was built by Sultan Ayto Fasil, son of Ayto Socinios, in the year 1657.

"In the evening I had a visit from the chief priest and others, who came with their books to try me in the scripture. My knowledge, though not very great, was fortunately fully equal to enable me to answer or evade all their questions, so that I came off with great credit; and the High Priest kissed my hand in rapture at my inti-

CHURCH AT AXUM.

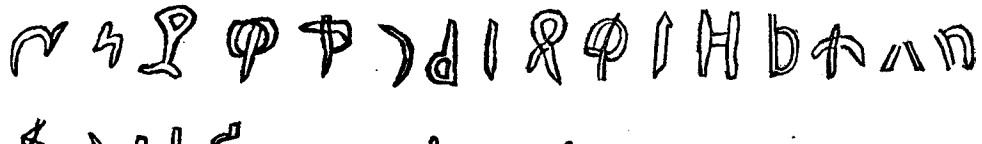
mate acquaintance with the sacred book. Before he left me, I took the opportunity of presenting to him, for the church, a piece of red satin stuff, as I found that no information was to be gained without some kind of bribery. The priests were all highly pleased with my offering, but begged that I would keep it till morning, and then deliver it in public at the church. The clerical establishment at this place seems to be on a far superior scale to any I have seen in Abyssinia, except Chelicut, which, from being the favourite church of the Ras, and close to the vicinity of his principal residence, is of course more particularly attended to, and enriched, during the continuance of his power. Axum is, however, looked up to with great deference, as having been for so long a period the seat of royalty; and the Chief Priest claims a very high precedence over all the churches to the eastward of the Tacazza. Even at present, on great occasions, as after a victory, the Ras thinks it necessary to pay his devotions at this place, to conciliate the priesthood, the influence of which still continues to be considerable.

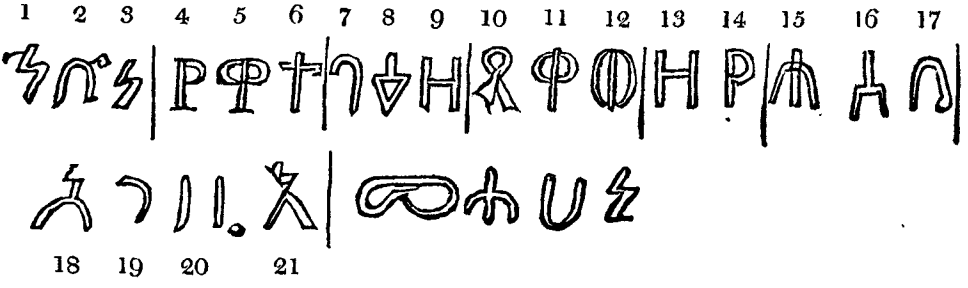
"The dress of this order of men differs in some degree from that of all the other ranks. They wear a close vest of white linen next the skin, which covers every part of their body to the knees, in addition to the large folding mantle and close drawers, which constitute the simple dress of the Abyssinians. They also wrap neatly round their heads a thin shawl of cotton, leaving the top of their heads exposed. This difference in dress gives great respectability to their appearance, and as far as I could learn, their conduct and manners are equally becoming.

"September 17.—I went to the church at a very early hour, and was received with great attention by the priests, and on my

requesting it, was admitted into the inmost apartment. The whole body of the church, consisting of four apartments or rooms, was covered with handsome carpets. On my presenting the piece of satin, I was desired to kneel down with my face to the ground, in which position I continued about two minutes, during which time the High Priest recited a prayer over me. This ceremony being over, I was led up some square steps of granite to the top of the building, which is flatly roofed, covered with mortar and stucco, and surrounded with Gothic ornaments. We here measured the size of the church, and found it to be one hundred and eleven feet in length and fifty-one in breadth. The view hence gives a good idea of the situation of the obelisks and of the reservoir, I therefore took a sketch of it, which is given among my larger views.

" Hence I was conducted to see two walls lined with stone, which are at some little distance from the church, as also a small square inclosure surrounded by pillars; on a seat within which the ancient kings used to be crowned (vide B in plan), as is shewn in the Vignette of this volume. In the inclosure behind the king's seat, other remains are scattered about in different directions; but on none of these, after a careful and repeated examination, was I able to perceive the least appearance of any inscription, excepting one, which is very short, in Ethiopic characters, of which the following is an exact copy.





In the two last lines I have given the Ethiopic inscription, as I think it ought to be restored.

The character marked 1, does not exist in the original; but I can have little doubt of its having been there, as with the characters marked 2 and 3, it forms the word Aboona, or chief priest.

The characters 4, 5, 6, I conjecture to be Dawit, or David.

The characters 7, 8, 9, require much alteration to make sense of them. According to the form I have adopted, they would mean Gay-za, or removed.

The characters 10, 11, are very clear; but a part of 12 seems to have been erased. As I have restored it, they would be Ja-ka-wa, or, broke them to pieces.

The characters 13, 14, are Zy-ja, or here.

The characters 15, 16, 17, are Ha-za-ba, or, he thought within himself.

The characters 18, 19, 20, 21, are A-ga-zi-y, or the Lord.

I can make nothing satisfactory of the four last letters, and possibly there may be some error in them as in the former letters, for the whole inscription is very rudely cut. The sense of the latter part may be conjectured from the beginning: "The Aboona David removed and broke to pieces here; he thought within himself the Lord was pleased that he so should do." If this explanation be just, it accounts satisfactorily for the destruction of the temple and obelisks; but I feel too conscious of my ignorance of the original language, to give it to the public otherwise than as a conjecture.

"Those ruins which were in any degree worthy of notice, I sketched, assisted by Pearce. I also took a front view of the church. I was taken hence to an upright stone (vide R in ground plan) about half a mile from the church in a north-east direction, on which was said to be some ancient writing. As I approached it, my curiosity was so highly raised, that I could scarcely refrain from running with eagerness to the spot. The first side of it that I examined, disappointed me much, there being only some slight remains of unknown characters; I was however soon repaid by a view of the opposite side, as I found it covered with Greek characters, fairly and deeply cut in the stone, each letter being nearly two inches in length. For the preservation of this inscription in so perfect a state, it is greatly indebted to a fortunate inclination to the northward, which the nature of the ground has given to the stone, by which that side of it is entirely sheltered from the rain. This monument is about eight feet high, three and an half broad, and one thick. As it was getting late I returned to breakfast, and was afterwards detained some time with the priests, who brought me a book of Ras Welleta

Selassé's wars. I then returned with Pearce to the inscription. My first care was to trace every letter with white chalk, and then to copy it on paper, correcting the whole by going over it a second time. We had been several hours thus engaged, and had not proceeded half through before the rain came on, and obliged us to desist. In the evening I wrote down the best account I could get from the books of Axum, of Ras Michael, and his rebellion in Tigré against the Emperor Yasous; his standing a siege on the mountain of Samayut; and his subsequent concession and pardon; to which the Emperor with difficulty acceded; all which confirm the historical account of the same transactions as related by Bruce.

"This day a circumstance occurred of trivial moment, but which I shall narrate, as it throws some light on the state of mental cultivation among those people. I was sitting alone where a fire of wood had been lighted, when a man of very wild demeanor, taking the opportunity of the absence of my servants, rushed in and began to remove the lighted branches. I in vain ordered him to desist, till at length, provoked by his insolence, and desirous of dismissing him at once, I threw at his head the drinking bottle which was standing before me on the table. The man was not touched, but immediately ran out in a great fright, making a most vociferous outcry, which immediately brought Guebra Selassé and others into the room. On being informed of what had passed, they searched for the bottle, and to their great surprise found that it had received no injury (doubtless on account of its lightness and globular figure). They turned it round and round with increasing astonishment; and from that time it was one of the anecdotes concerning me that they had most pleasure in repeating, declaring that such a man

could never be in want of a weapon; a conclusion, which it may be supposed I was at no pains to controvert.

" September 18.—I rose at an early hour and hastened to the inscription. After I had completed and corrected with the greatest attention the copy of every letter that was in sight, we began to dig up the earth, in order to get at that part of it which was under ground. We fortunately cleared away nearly a foot and a half, without bringing the stone on our heads, and at last, to my great satisfaction, came, as I supposed, to the end of the inscription. This being done, I went to take a drawing of the obelisk still erect (vide L in ground plan). I found it to be extremely different from the representation given of it by Bruce; the ornaments, which he is pleased to call triglyphs and metopes, and guttæ, being most regularly, instead of irregularly disposed, as will be seen in my representation of it. I am now perfectly satisfied that all Bruce's pretended knowledge of drawing is not to be depended upon, the present instance affording a striking example both of his want of veracity and uncommon assurance, in giving, with a view to correct others, " as a geometrical elevation," so very false a sketch of this monument. The broad sides of it front north and south, of which only the south is sculptured. It is inferior in size to one that has fallen down, which also differs from this in the form of its ornaments, and in its having been carved on both sides, or else on the opposite side to the corresponding one of that which is now standing. It is a noble monument, but of its antiquity, who can judge? For Bruce's theory on the subject is, I fear, so ill supported by facts, as to deserve little credit.

" After finishing my sketch, I went to the top of the hill to the

eastward (marked P in ground plan), in hopes of finding some more remains. There is the appearance of a double door-way excavated in the rock on the western side of this hill, and on the northern side are steps leading to the top, but on the summit itself there is not the least appearance of any work of ancient art. My labour however was not entirely fruitless, as hence I took bearings of all the principal objects, and thus compleated my idea of the situation of Axum.

" The town of Axum stands partly in and partly at the mouth of a nook (y y y in the ground plan) formed by two hills on the north-west end of an extensive valley (z z), the soil of which is very fertile, and interspersed with small pieces of spar and agates. North of the plain stands the church of Abba Lucanus on a lofty hill, the summit of which is covered with trees; to the north-east is the church Abba Pantaleon, built on the point of a bare and rugged rock called Mantillees; on the south-east are the towering hills of Adowa; and on the south-west the convent or church of Tecla Haimanont. The road from Adowa (T T in ground plan) lies directly west across the plain, and winds round the bottom of the hill that stands to the east of Axum, which hill is entirely composed of a brown coarse granite. Upon the first rising of this hill, and about two hundred yards north north-east from the stone with the inscription, stands a plain obelisk (S in ground plan) about twenty feet high, and in a line eastward are fourteen more that are fallen. The one that is now standing, I suppose to be that mentioned by Bruce on his entering Axum, as the high road from Adowa leads close under it; though by the way in which Bruce has described it, the reader would be led to look for it above the convent of Abboo

or Abba Pantaleon, which is impossible, that place being on the very summit of an high eminence on the left hand side of the great road. After passing this obelisk on the right, there is a line of regular rock, in part resembling a rough wall, which is probably the same that Bruce has described as a wall of red marble surmounted by pedestals, (vide V in ground plan). We were not however able in any portion of it to trace the workmanship of art. It seemed to be a regular stratum of rock left by nature, as I have often before seen, forming the very base of the hill. It is of a loose, soft, chalky nature; but the influence of the air, and the mosses growing upon it, have formed a reddish coat on the surface. It is very irregular in its measurement, in some places being twelve feet high, and in others not two, and is from ten to five feet across. There is no appearance of pedestals upon it, but a little to the south are lying five pedestals or altars (C in ground plan) which are at present evidently removed from their proper situations.

" The chief modern building is the church, which stands at the northern extremity of the present town, and seems in part to occupy the situation of an ancient temple. It has in front of it two flights of steps (O in ground plan); the lower flights consist of twelve steps, one hundred and eighty-feet in length, and the upper one of eight steps, thirty-six feet in length, with an interval of sixteen feet between the two flights: from the uppermost step to the church porch is thirty-eight feet. A row of broken pedestals still remaining before the church (C in ground plan), indicates the principal entrance.

" The situation of the monument called the King's seat, has been already described, and the only additional circumstances that I have

to relate concerning it, are, that the seat itself, and the slab on which the feet naturally rest, are of granite, and not of free stone, as is in this instance alone, among so many ruins, so suspiciously described by Bruce; and they contain not the least trace of an inscription; and yet I cannot think that they have been much disturbed during the last thirty-five years; as they have not been applied to any purpose, and are rendered nearly inaccessible to the barefooted natives, by being surrounded on all sides with nettles of a large species, which sting more than any I have before felt. Nor can I believe that an inscription, which had stood for ages, would have totally vanished in so short a period, without leaving even a trace behind. I therefore conceive Bruce's inscription to be altogether fictitious. In the inner inclosure, on a paved way leading to the flight of steps before the church, is a broken stone, on which are figured two spears, the one barbed, and the other not, like those now in use.

"All the monuments around the church form a group, and are probably part of one great edifice; but it is impossible to make out what might have been the plan of this ancient building, because the houses of the modern town are crowded all round the south and western sides of the church. All the information that I could procure at Axum, concerning the history of the singular remains there, was from the attending priests, who informed me, on the authority of their books, that all their ancient monuments and obelisks, originally fifty-five in number, of which four were of the size now standing, were built by Ethiopus, the father of Abyssinia, about one thousand five hundred and forty-four years ago; and, which is probably entitled to more credit, that the great reservoir from which every house in the town was formerly

supplied with water, was constructed during the reign of Isaac, King of Abyssinia, by the Aboona Samuel, who died at Axum three hundred and ninety-two years ago, and was buried under the Daroo tree still remaining near the church; and that in the year 1070, a female named Gadit, in great authority, came from Amhara, and from a superstitious motive, destroyed, as far as she was able, these remains of ancient art; threw down the obelisks, broke the altars, and laid the whole place in ruins; an account by no means improbable, as there is every appearance of many of the largest altars having been broken by great force, and removed from their places. The Ethiopic inscription makes it however doubtful, whether this were not done by the Aboona David.

"From my account of Axum, it will appear that Bruce's description of the "mountain of red marble;" of the "wall cut out of the same five feet high," with its "one hundred and thirty-three pedestals, on which stood colossal statues of the dog star, two of which only were remaining;" and of the road cut between the wall and the mountain, are statements contrary to the existing facts, or at least so extremely exaggerated, as to cast strong doubts upon his authority; and it appears to me, that nothing but the fallacious presumption that no one, after the difficulties which he had described with so much exaggeration, would dare to follow his steps, could have induced him to venture on such unsupported assertion, which the very next European who should travel that way would so certainly refute. His never having seen nor heard of the inscription that stands so near the road by which he passed, is somewhat singular. It is indeed partly concealed from sight by a small rising ground, and his attention might easily have been diverted

by the obelisk on the right. Moreover, his account of the church, and his general remarks on the priests, give reason to suppose that he had no communication with them; yet these were probably the only persons capable of giving him any information on the subject. In this instance, his neglect of them was well repaid, by his being left in ignorance of the most valuable monument in the place.

" The lower class of the inhabitants of Axum seemed to be more rude to strangers, and less under authority, than any we observed during our excursion, so that it was not easy to prevent the occurrence of a serious dispute. Ibrahim, our boy, seized a much stronger fellow than himself, who was particularly troublesome, and having made fast his garment, brought him to the top of the church, at the time we were there, and delivered him over to our guides. After frightening the offender with the Ras's displeasure, we were induced to dismiss him unpunished, at the request of the High Priest. This custom of seizing the garment of an offender is very general; when any person is injured, his first attempt is to get hold of his adversary's apparel, which, having fastened in a hand knot to his own, nothing can force him to quit till he gets into the presence of his superiors, to whose decision he means to appeal; and it is singular, that those who may have stolen double the value of their garment, will not consent to part with it in order to escape, from the disgrace attached to such a proceeding.

" We observed here rather a rough mode of keeping children in order; one of Nebrida Aram's boys had large iron shackles on his legs, as a punishment for some truant tricks of which he had been guilty.

" A bullock was sent to me by the master of the house in which I lodged, who is a brother of Nebrida Aram, and bread and booza were supplied twice a day by a daughter of Ras Michael, styled Ambati Ozoro Tuckai. I had not however the pleasure of seeing her. Having staid one day longer than was expected at Axum, we found some difficulty in getting provisions. Our guide, who had great respect paid him wherever he went, from being in the immediate service of the Ras, laid this tax upon my friend the priest, who thought himself, however, amply compensated by a piece of muslin and a small cornelian cross, which I presented to him. This was indeed but a small return for the uniformly kind attention with which he had treated us. There fell much rain accompanied by lightning in the evening.

" September 19.—While our attendants were getting the mules ready for our departure, I set out with Pearce to the inscription, which I again copied with the utmost care and attention. The morning was particularly favourable for seeing every part distinctly, and I hoped, in which I was not disappointed, that when compared with the copy finished the day before, there would be found but little difference. At all events I felt satisfied that every possible care had been taken to avoid error; wherever a letter was doubtful, or wanting, I marked it as such, and wherever there was the appearance of a date, I copied it separately upon a large scale. I had again an opportunity to compare the copy with the inscription, and to add a few letters at the bottom which, had before escaped observation, when I visited Axum on my way to Massowah. I shall give a fac-simile of it when I come to that part of my work.

" Being joined by Guebra Selassé and our mules, we crossed the large plain for a distance of about five miles, and then descended by a rough road through a gully, along the banks of a stream, till we arrived at the foot of the hill on which stands the church of Hannes, where, on the 16th ult. we had quitted the direct road, in order to visit Calam Negas.

" On crossing the plain to Adowa, we met a poor man who had been robbed of his corn, and much beaten. He had run after the offender and secured his garment, and now delivered him over to Guebra Selassé, who took his jambea, or knife, from him, and brought him on to Adowa. On our arrival there, we were informed that Nebrida Aram had just set out for Antalow, having waited till this day in expectation of my arrival from Axum. He was said to be accompanied by two hundred soldiers armed with matchlocks, and two thousand spearmen.

" Two sheep, three large jars of maize, bread, &c. were brought to me by the chief Mussulmaun. I had a long visit in the afternoon from an Ozoro, or princess, upwards of thirty, who was fair for an Abyssinian, and very fat. I had also a polite message from Ozoro Tishai, requesting that I would call upon her in the evening, as she was very anxious to see me. At the hour appointed for my visit, there came on one of the heaviest storms that I ever remember to have witnessed, attended with vivid lightning, and very loud thunder, which rattled over our heads like cannon. It did not last long, so that when it was over (as I understood the lady expected me), I set out. It was quite dark, and I had to pass through so many alleys and passages, that I could form no idea in what part of the town the house was situated. At length, however, we reached it,

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and I was introduced to the lady, who was expecting me, with a large party of her friends and attendants. She was seated at the upper end of the room, on a handsome couch placed in a recess, which was divided off by an undrawn curtain, with the lower part of her face covered. I made a drawing of the Ozoro, which, I can assure the reader, gives an accurate delineation of the costume of a lady of her rank, although it has no resemblance to the fancy figures given in the last edition of Bruce, as Abyssinian princesses. She gave me a most gracious reception; and, as far as the absence of my interpreter (who was sick) would allow me to understand them, the visit was perfectly agreeable. What was wanting in conversation, was made up in laughing, joking, and drinking; for the lady most urgently plied us all with maize, taking at the same time an equal portion herself. She was not so great a beauty as Bruce's princess, being dark in complexion, though of very pleasant manners.

"September 20.—As I wished to procure a few articles for Lord Valentia at this place, being extremely doubtful whether we should get any at Antalow, I had determined to stay another day at Adowa. Judging from the rate at which we made our purchases, I should conclude every thing to be exceedingly dear in this place; but I rather suppose that we were buying through a dear channel, as our guide was the only person whom we could employ, and he no doubt made us pay handsomely for his trouble.

"Early in the morning I took a sketch of part of the city of Adowa, and the hills, from a small loft in front of the Ras's house. The view itself has not much to recommend it, but the effects of the morning sun were extremely fine, throwing into happy obscurity the wretched mansions of which the whole capital consists.

H. Salt Esqr. Pinxt.

C. Warren. sculpt.

AZORO TISHAI AT ADOWE.

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"In the course of the day I received a message from Ozoro Tishai, requesting me again to visit her in the evening. As soon as it was dark I proceeded to her house. She received me with the same kind attention as on the evening before. Besides a plentiful supply of maize, which she was very urgent in pressing us to drink, she had prepared a supper, of which, for my own part, I was too unwell to partake. Pearce and Andrew, my servants, however, did it ample justice. The lady was this evening exceedingly curious, and asked many questions concerning our Sovereign, the nobleman who had sent me, our houses, churches, &c; but all this was done with great politeness; and there was evidently a very striking distinction between the manners of this princess, and those of the generality of the women whom I had seen in Abyssinia. She told me that she had heard of Bruce, but had never seen him; that he was a great favourite both of Ozoro Esther and the Iteghé. She added, that she felt the same friendship for me that they did for him. On my taking leave, she presented me with a piece of cloth of the finest Adowa manufacture, and begged that I would not let any person wear it but myself. She was very reluctant to break up the party; and I was obliged at last to bring our visit to a termination, by making our interpreter, who had but a weak head, drink an additional quantity of maize, which soon incapacitated him for his office.

"September 21.—I left Adowa in the morning not without regret, as I considered its inhabitants to be much more civilized than those of any other part of Abyssinia that I have visited. We ascended the hill to the east, and continued in a route somewhat to the south of that by which we came; so that we did not pass within

sight of Abba Garima. At the distance of about five miles, our road lay below the hill on which stands the village of Occabessa, then partly in ruins, but which was formerly the residence of old Ras Michael, after he had quitted the busy scene of politics. The church is named after his favourite Emperor, Tecla Haimanout. Hence we kept winding round many hills till we reached the village of Angára. Here the door was shut against us; so we proceeded to Dichora, where we procured a small house, and good accommodation for the night. The chief of the former village came in, and made his peace by bringing bread, booza, milk, and two goats, to which the man of the house made an addition of one, after having in vain pressed me very much to accept a dollar's worth of cloth in lieu of it.

" September 22.—After travelling about six miles, we came into our old track, near the spot where we met the poor woman with her blind deaf and dumb child. We passed below the mansion of Basha Guebra Eyut, who was gone to Antalow. In crossing along the plain at the bottom of Abbo Samuel, we saw several very small and beautiful birds, in their habits not unlike the linnet. I dismounted with my gun, and after waiting patiently for some time, at length got a shot at one in a bush, which I luckily killed, much to the astonishment of several chiefs, who, with their followers, had all stopt to observe me; after which, at their request, I allowed them to examine the gun, which excited the admiration of all. In the course of the day I killed five more birds of different kinds, two at one shot, which completely established my character as a sportsman, among my fellow travellers, many of whom were chiefs, on their way to the muster at Antalow. While we were halting by the

side of the same stream where we had before refreshed ourselves, an old priest, named Allula Lucus, came to pay his respects to me, having been formerly, as he said, well acquainted with Yagoube at Gondar. On my questioning him, he told me that Bruce lived at Koscam, and made two attempts, the first of which failed, to visit the Nile. It was supposed that he went to stop the source of that river; and as they believed he could make gold, and turn any waters, they thought him capable of accomplishing this project; that he never went to war, but staid during those times in the house of the Aboona; that Yusuff, the Aboona's interpreter, whom I had before seen at Adowa, often interpreted for Bruce, as he understood well neither the language of Amhara nor of Tigré; but that he had also an interpreter of his own, named Michael; that he never had any command of cavalry, the Koccob horse, in particular, being at that time under one of the Sultan's servants, whose name he had forgotten; that a man named Kuara was Governer of Ras-el-feel under Netcho, in whose province of Tcherkin it was included; and the same Kuara held it afterwards under Ayto Corfu, who succeeded to the province on his father's death. Finally, that Bruce was a great favourite of Tecla Haimanout, with whom, however, he had once quarrelled, on account of the Sultan's taking off his hat or turban, which he indignantly resented.

"Barrambaras Tocklu having marched with his troops into Antalow, we were under the necessity of passing the night at a small shed, which was capable of keeping out neither wind nor water: the master, however, presented me with a sheep, and bread and booza for our bearers.

"September 23.—We set out with the earliest dawn of day, hav-

ing a long and difficult march before us. Our road first lay across the plain, which is of very unequal ground, till we came to the bottom of the pass of Atbara, where the ascent became very steep, and much incommoded with the Kantuffa, which, like the bramble, tears any linen that comes in its way. On reaching the top we discovered an encampment of troops, amounting to nearly one thousand, scattered about in parties, the numbers of which varied according to the consequence of their respective chiefs. They were refreshing themselves after the fatigue of the ascent; and being invited to partake of their provision, we seated ourselves on the grass, covered over in the country style with an outspread cloth, supported by spears stuck in the ground, and regaled upon some fine wheat and peas bread, Our own people, meanwhile, were grilling some mutton, in doing which a serious quarrel took place, which was very near ending in bloodshed. The parties went so far as to draw their knives, but were prevented from doing mischief by the bystanders, who rushed upon them with their spears and shields, and seized all concerned in the affray. Guebra Selassé picked out one of the offenders, and put him in irons, to carry before the Ras. He was only fastened with a chain to a young boy; yet such is the influence of established custom, that no delinquent, in such cases, ever thinks of breaking away.

" The road hence was crowded with marching troops, asses carrying provender, and with caparisoned horses and mules in abundance; the last of which are invariably preferred to the horses for travelling. Among other chiefs was Shelika Welleta Raphael, of Beit Koccose, near Abba Garima, who behaved towards me with much civility. He first took Ibrahim behind him on his mule, which

was a very fine one, and afterwards, seeing that my mule's paces were not good, dismounted, and insisted on my taking his, with which I the more willingly complied, as he had another mule ready for his own use.

" About four miles from Muchaie I returned this gentleman his mule, as he was going direct to Antalow by another road. After getting completely wet through with a heavy shower of rain, we reached Muchaie, where we remained for the night. Three travellers were introduced to me by the master of the village; and we were furnished with such abundance of provisions, that I was enabled to send them a large portion of bread, and also a goat to a friend of our guide.

" September 24.—We left the village of Muchaie at a very early hour, and, in the first part of our road met with little worthy of notice. Having passed through the narrow valley described in our former journal, we arrived at the stream on the bank of which we stopped; here we bathed, and afterwards took some refreshment. I must observe that the Abyssinians, as far as I have seen, are very fond of bathing, whenever they have an opportunity of doing so in a running stream.

" We now passed close by the mansion of Gibbé, which was at this time deserted, and in ruins. We were told that formerly the Ras had a mansion at each stage from Antalow to Adowa, computing by the journies that these people make, which are about double the distance of those we have been able to perform; for, as they are accustomed to a mountainous country from their infancy, they disregard the ascent and descent of the steep passes that intersect every part of Abyssinia. I could not, until this day, conceive the reason of

the Ras's having quitted Adowa, which appeared strange to me, as his buildings and other accommodations at that place are more numerous and are larger, (though in the same style) than those at his residence at Antalow. I have been told, however, that a part of these buildings formerly belonged to one of his subjects, who not choosing quietly to resign his possession, was forcibly expelled, and killed by the Ras's people. From that time the place is said to have been haunted by the ghost of the deceased; and my informant added, that the Ras was one night beaten violently, and some of his attendants killed, by the ghost; upon which he collected the rest in great alarm, left the place, and has never since returned to it, transferring his capital to the province of Enderte. In confirmation, of their terrors on this subject, I have to remark, that when Pearce and Andrew attempted to go into the rooms in search of some curious owls that had taken up their abode there, the people were much alarmed, and did every thing in their power to prevent them: they however persisted, and went over the whole of the apartments without meeting with any supernatural being, or other molestation.

"The country from Gibbé to Muccullah has been before described; to which account I have only to add, that a rapid stream runs through the vale of Jambela, which we again crossed. A worthy priest, whom we met on the road travelling with his bible, offered me an excellent mule, on which he was himself riding, to carry me to Antalow. I declined, however, his friendly offer, as I found an English saddle much easier than those made use of in Abyssinia. On our arrival at Muccullah, we learned that the Ras had left orders to have every thing prepared for our reception, and among other articles of good cheer plenty of maize was provided,

H. Salt Esq.r Pinx.t

Warren sculp.t

ABYSSINIANS RESTING ON A MARCH.

which we had been without from the time that we left Adowa, having been obliged to rest satisfied with booza, the common drink of the country.

"September 25.—I went out at daybreak, and descended the northern side of the hill of Muccullah, which is extremely steep, in order to take a sketch of the church and town, a drawing of which is given in my larger views. The situation is beautiful, and may serve to give an idea of the churches and villages in Abyssinia, which, for the most part, are built on one common plan. We were completely fatigued on our return, with the difficulty of the ascent, which, however, the natives of the country, from habit, do not seem at all to regard.

"We returned hence to Antalow by the same road that we came. We now saw, on coming down one of the hills, the town of Chelicut, which we had before passed unobserved. The whole of the road was thronged with chiefs and their followers proceeding on their way to Antalow, who entirely took up my attention. All the great men were extremely curious in examining every thing belonging to me, and I was by this time so accustomed to their manners, that I always indulged them with the inspection of my gun and sword, which I even entrusted to their own hands. They were accompanied by a relation of Ras Michael, extremely wild both in his dress and manners, and much resembling the inhabitants of Suakin, having his hair dressed out in a most fantastic style, with a long wooden pin run through it. He was attended by a large band of musicians, several led horses, and many followers. At about three in the afternoon I arrived at Antalow, and found all my friends safe, and happy to see me again. Captain Rudland returned here yesterday, after

having spent a fortnight with the Ras, during which time he was under the necessity of making himself understood by signs and nods, not having an interpreter, and the Ras not permitting him to send for one to Antalow. I found Mr. Carter rather unwell. Instead of having been to Buré, as my previous arrangements had given me reason to expect, he had, from some misconception of the natives, been almost entirely confined to the house, and scarcely permitted to have communication with any person; besides which, he complained of having been kept rather short of provisions; his whole daily allowance not having been more than part of a fowl and bread. This was however in some measure to be attributed to his own mismanagement, as he certainly might, though with some difficulty, have gone on the expedition to Buré, which I much regretted he had not done, as I conceived that he would have obtained some very valuable information. He had written to Captain Rudland; but this gentleman was so situated as not to be able to assist him, as will appear by the following journal of occurrences during my absence. Hamed Chamie and our Mussulmaun servants also complained much of their treatment during my absence, having had only three sheep allowed them in that time, though plentifully supplied with bread. I did not see the Ras in the evening, as I understood that he was much fatigued by having been present at the exercise of his troops.

" September 22.— Pleasant weather, with light winds, and lightning during the night.

Captain Rudland's Journal.

" Monday, September 9.— Yesterday afternoon, as I happened to pass through the hall, I saw the Ras disengaged and alone; he

called me to him, and repeated his wish that we should all of us accompany him on the morrow morning to Muccullah at which place he was going to spend a few days; he also informed me that he should set out very early. I communicated this to Mr. Salt on my return to our apartment; and in consequence, before we went to sleep, we prepared ourselves for the journey, and for the Ras's expected summons; but to our surprize, at day-break the next morning, we found the Ras had already set out, and had left only three mules for our accommodation, which number had been previously engaged for Mr. Salt and his attendants, who were to set off at the same time on their journey to Adowa and Axum. Mr. Salt, with Pearce, Andrew, and Ibrahim, left me about seven o'clock.

"Tuesday, September 10.—At three o'clock this morning I was awakened by a messenger from the Ras, with a request that I would proceed immediately to join him at Muccullah, acquainting me also that bearers were in readiness for the conveyance of Mr. Salt's baggage, who, on quitting Antalow yesterday, had been obliged to leave it behind. As soon as it was daylight, I was conducted to the house of the Ras's brother (Manassé), who had been left in command here during the absence of Ras Welleta Selassé; he gave me his own mules, and appointed an officer of rank to attend me as a guide. The road lay across the hill of Antalow, whence I had a view of Chelicut, and then passed over a brook that flows by the last mentioned place, and arrived about noon at Muccullah, having crossed no intermediate valley in my way thither.

"Wednesday, September 11.—I joined my friend Mr. Salt on my arrival yesterday at this place, whom I found occupying a priest's hut in a corner of the church-yard, as miserable in reality as its

owner in appearance. This morning we were awakened at an early hour by a servant of the Ras, who informed us that his master had gone on a hunting party, but that he would return here in the afternoon. Mr. Salt proposed to set off on his journey towards Axum, and after having taken a little milk by way of a breakfast, left Muccullah with his attendants about seven o'clock.

"Being now left by myself, without a single creature around me to whom I could speak a word in any language so as to be understood, I again lay down and slept, having had little or no rest during the night, owing to vermin of all kinds, with which the place swarmed. I imagine I did not awake till twelve or one o'clock, when Guebra Eyatt, a boy of the Ras, brought some maize and bread, and some heated ghee, which I could not eat. I confess that now, almost for the first time in my life, I found myself rather uncomfortable, being absolutely precluded from conversation with a single individual; nor was my situation likely to be improved on the return of the Ras, unless there should happen to be some one in the train capable of speaking a little broken Arabic.

"At four P. M. a messenger arrived from the Ras, who by signs and gestures led me to understand that dinner was ready, and my company was requested. I returned with this good man to the Ras, and found him sitting on his couch, with all his head people about him; he seated me by his side, and fed me very kindly with fish, fruit, bread, and vegetables. After I had eaten a sufficient quantity, I was obliged by nods, winks, and smiles, to inform the Ras of the circumstance, for fear of being choaked with kindness. The maize went round cheerfully, and the Ras and company were in the highest spirits and good humour.

" Thursday, September 12.—I passed a most wretched and uncomfortable night, among swarms of bugs, lice, and fleas. Milk was brought to me at the usual hour, and about ten I was invited to attend the Ras at breakfast. He received me with his accustomed attention, and seated me at his right hand, on the same couch with himself. His brother Manassé had arrived this morning from Antalow, so that there was a very large party; and brinde and maize were handed about to all very briskly. I eat none of the former, but drank too much of the latter, and returned at one o'clock to the " parsonage," where I remained uninterrupted during the remainder of the day.

" Friday, September 13.—The quantity of maize I was forced to drink yesterday affected my head, and the pain it occasioned prevented me from sleeping during the night. At four this morning I was roused by a message from the Ras, requesting that I would attend him on a hunting party. Unwell as I was, I got up, and found a mule in readiness for me; but the Ras was already gone. The attendants informed me by signs, that the place where he had turned off his dogs this morning was not far off; I therefore followed, and rode about four miles to the village of Droosa, a little beyond which I fell in with the Ras, and found his sport this day consisted in giving directions to his soldiers, who were employed in fixing large stones across a rivulet, both to serve as a bridge, and as a dam, to form a head of water for the sake hereafter of fishing, an amusement of which the Ras is exceedingly fond. He begged, when I had joined him, that I would mount a favourite horse, which is led before him whenever he goes on parties of this kind. This condescension I considered as it really was, an extraordinary favour, for no one

beside himself ever mounts the back of this animal, except a Gallee eunuch, a great favourite of the Ras, who in the presence of his master is permitted sometimes to exercise him. This being a fast day with the Ras, I found myself rather in an awkward situation, having left Muccullah without my usual draught of milk; but the Ras, ever thoughtful about what would conduce to my accommodation, was sensible that I should be as well pleased with a feast, and accordingly ordered the chief of the village in the vicinity of which we were, to prepare a fowl curry for me. I accompanied this good man to his house, and received the kindest attention from himself and his lady. A fine curry, with bread and maize, was speedily introduced, and the hostess was so polite as to insist on feeding me. My kind entertainers did not choose themselves to violate their fast day; but as the lady had placed next to me her beautiful daughter, about twelve or fourteen years of age, I gladly made the most grateful return that I was able, by dipping bread into the curry, and feeding her in the same way as I had been treated by the mother. There was a skin spread for me, on which, after I had eaten enough, I enjoyed a comfortable sleep. I afterwards rejoined the Ras, and at four P. M. we again reached Muccullah, where a dinner was prepared of fish, fruit, bread, and vegetables. I returned to my detestable quarters about seven o'clock.

" Saturday September 14.—Yesterday during dinner the chief from Buré was pointed out to me by the Ras: he had come hither in consequence of an order from the Ras, originating from a conversation already detailed between him and Mr. Salt, in which it was arranged that Mr. Carter should proceed to Buré, under the

protection of the chief, for the purpose of surveying that place. I this morning begged of the Ras, to permit me to return to Antalow, to acquaint Mr. Carter with the arrival of the Chief, that no time might be lost; but this was not consented to. I then proposed sending a note to him, to which I got no reply; however, all this I attributed to the effects of the maize; for we had taken our breakfasts, and the Ras and his chiefs appeared determined to make up for the abstinence of yesterday.

"I now complained to him of my filthy quarters, shewing him my skin; and by winks and gestures (for we now began to understand each other tolerably well) acquainted him that I could get no sleep. He immediately ordered the ladies' apartment to be prepared for me, near the large hall, which accordingly I occupied during the remainder of my stay here. When the Ras had refreshed himself with a four hour's sleep (an invariable custom with these people after eating), he sent a messenger to me in the upper room over the entrance door. As soon as I went down, he gave me a most cordial shake by the hand, and called in the Chief from Buré, and a Mussulmaun attendant, who could interpret what was said, in nearly as good Arabic as I speak myself. However, I contrived to get a person dispatched to Antalow, with my note to Mr. Carter, and an order from the Ras for him to be accommodated with mules, and to come here to morrow morning, this place lying in the direct road.

"Sunday, September 15.—I had a good night's rest in my fresh apartment, it being tolerably free from vermin, because the building, being a new one, they had not yet had time to accumulate. The Ras attended divine service at the church in the night, or rather

early in the morning: he returned thence at four o'clock; I arose at six, and found him in close conference with Ballambaras Guebra Amlaw, or the master of the household. I drank my milk, and afterwards took a walk; on my return I breakfasted with the Ras, who introduced me to a son of his late brother Subhartz, and to a daughter of Dehub, another of his brothers. The latter I presented with a small box and a looking glass. We had a most excellent feast of cow heel, game, eggs, &c.; the maize went round cheerfully.

"I was much pleased this morning to observe the Ras's attention to our friend Baharnegash Yasous, whom, whenever an opportunity occurred, I mentioned to the Ras in the most favourable terms; and I firmly believe it was in consequence of my representations, that he was admitted into his presence at the eating hour with the first class. The meal being finished, the Ras, as usual, retired to sleep; I walked out with my gun, killed a brace of partridges, and was much pestered by the inhabitants: the evening I spent with the Ras, who was engaged over the chess board with Tokla Sangaltor. Their game differs more from ours than we at first supposed; the queen moves diagonally, and only one square at a time; the castles either have not the power of the same piece in the European games, or the players do not make use of them so frequently; nor do they seem to value a castle so much as a knight. We had supper at eight, at which time the Ras acquainted me that Mr. Carter would be here in the morning, and that he himself should leave this place for Chelicut the day after to-morrow, so as to arrive by the following day at Antalow.

"Monday, September 16.—I took my usual walk this morning on

the Antalow road, in hopes of meeting Mr. Carter; but was disappointed. I returned about nine, and at the dinner hour attended the Ras. I had not seen the only man who was able to communicate a word with me in imperfect Arabic since yesterday morning, but was given to understand by the usual gestures, that the chief from Buré was about to return, and that Mr. Carter was not coming here at all; and, as far as I was able to learn, the Ras meant to return to Chelicut on Wednesday or Thursday. I supposed the Buré chief to be in the interest of the Nayib, which, in some measure, accounts for the sudden turn that affairs had taken; but I resolved as soon as I could again make use of my tongue to the Ras, I would have it explained. We supped at eight; during the meal the Ras invited me to accompany him in the morning on a hunting and fishing party.

"Tuesday, September 17.—My attendant, Guebra Eyatt, awoke me at half past three this morning by the Ras's order, and informed me that he was waiting for me in the hall. I hurried on my kaftan, and running down, found him surrounded by fifty of his slaves by the side of a large fire. Our mules were also ready harnessed in the hall. We set out about four, descended the hill by the church, and had proceeded across the valley in an eastern direction about four miles before day break. We passed the village of Bellimackdam, the inhabitants of which joined the party. The Ras knowing that I was in the habit of taking a cup of fresh milk every morning (without saying a word to me, for we now understood each other tolerably well in the eating and drinking way), ordered some to be brought. I took my usual draught; but the Ras, thinking that after a time I should be glad of some more, ordered (without my know-

ledge) that a pot of it should be carried along with us. Our fishing party went a different route, the Ras preferring the amusement of hunting this morning, which he in reality enjoys much. He has about fifty dogs of an inferior cast, not unlike the English lurcher, and at least five hundred men. These are disposed among the thickets of acacia, with which the small hills around are covered, in order to rouse the deer, hares, growse, partridges, and guinea fowl. As soon as one of these is put up (for the birds fly only to a very short distance), it is instantly pursued by the dogs and men who happen to be nearest. Upon this an universal shout and yell is set up, which so frightens the poor animal, that, together with the keenness of the dogs, it seldom happens that it escapes. We returned to Muccullah at ten, with six brace of partridges and growse. I had an opportunity on our way back of shewing the Ras how the English gentlemen enjoy this kind of sport, and told him, that I myself could have killed more birds this morning than his fifty dogs and five hundred men. They have not an idea how the bird is brought down when on the wing. One of his chiefs asked me, with a very grave countenance, if it was done by a charm. I kept my shot concealed from them as much as possible; they always, therefore, examined the animal when killed for the bullet wound, not supposing that any thing but a single ball was made use of.

"On our entering the first gate to the hall, the knife was flourished over the cow's throat; for if the animal can be killed in the presence of the Ras, it is not only considered as the more respectful, but the brinde is the more delicious. In the present instance, the skin was only partly taken off, and a favourite slice of the flesh was

brought immediately to table, the muscles of which continued to quiver till the whole was devoured.

" Two chiefs appeared at breakfast this morning in irons; they had been brought the day before yesterday to the presence of the Ras, under an accusation of murder; one of them had killed eight, and the other five men.

" The evening passed off with chess, and a supper as usual, during which a singing boy was introduced, who with his songs, and the strange gestures of his body, seemed to amuse the Ras, and greatly to delight the company. This boy could not be more than eight or nine years of age; he had a spear and shield adapted to his size, which he handled astonishingly well. His pert answers to the Ras made him laugh heartily. I fancy his songs were not of the most delicate nature. There was a lady in company belonging to one of the chiefs, but she did not seem to be much incommoded, for she smiled, and appeared as well amused as any one.

" We have had most delightful weather ever since I have been here, not unlike the month of May in England. I had an opportunity of observing in two instances this day, that it was not a general custom with these people to dismount from their horses or mules when they pass a church, &c.

" Wednesday, September 18.—I observed that this day is as strict a fast with the Abyssinians, as Friday. The Ras was engaged during the whole of the morning in deciding causes, and at six o'clock had a dinner of fish, ghee, fruit, and different kinds of bread. The fruit was sent by Ozoro Mantwaub from Chelicut, and consisted of citrons, plantains, lemons, and dried grapes. I walked out in the afternoon to the spring whence the water is brought that

supplies the town, and a delightful one it is; it flows from a rock of soft stone, mixed with veins of iron ore, and I imagine discharges no less a quantity than half a hogshead in a minute.

"Thursday, September 19.—At midnight I was informed by my attendant that the Ras wished to see me. I hurried down half asleep, and found him with his Fit Aurari, and two other chiefs, round a small table by the fire side, with a supper prepared of fowl curry and grilled mutton. I was obliged to eat, although it went much against my appetite, and drank three bruhls of maize, and again retired to rest; but in the morning I felt myself not at all the better for it. I learned on enquiry, that it is usual for this meal to be served up in the night of every Wednesday and Friday, as soon after the hour of twelve as possible, as they get but little during the preceding twenty-four hours.

"Friday, September 20.—The Ras was in readiness at an early hour this morning to attend divine service, which was performed under a temporary building in the center of the valley to the east of the church, and about a mile distant. He sent to me to accompany him, which I of course complied with. On entering this place, there were many priests assembled, who had formed themselves in a circle, chanting the psalms, with a drum or tom-tom in the center. The seat the Ras occupied was screened from the view of all without by a curtain, within which was placed a crown of gold, resembling those which we saw at Chelicut, some frankincense, dried grapes, and wheat; the former was burned, and the two latter were made use of instead of the bread and wine. After the prayers were over, and the Ras had read a chapter in the Bible, we all went out on the middle of the plain. The Ras seated himself on the ground,

and in an instant two or three of the dresses of his slaves were spread out, being fixed upon the ends of their spears so as to form a complete covering, which seemed to keep off the glare of the sun, which now began to be very oppressive. The chess board was introduced; and here the Ras continued to play till past four in the afternoon, when we returned to Muccullah, where the usual Friday's repast was prepared.

"The good Ras was aware that I had had nothing to eat in the morning before we left the hall; accordingly, soon after we were seated on the plain, with much kindness and attention he ordered one of his chiefs to get another dress or two spread over a fowl curry that had been brought on purpose for me, and which my religion did not prevent me from eating; on the contrary, I devoured nearly the whole of it, and never relished any thing more in my life.

"I yesterday saw a funeral of the wife of one of the principal inhabitants of Muccullah. Whether it be the custom on the death of a female for none but females to weep and scratch themselves, I have yet to ascertain by further enquiry; but certain it is, that none but women were seen to manifest their grief on this occasion, either by shedding tears, or scratching the skin from their temples, foreheads, and even noses, till they were as raw as brinde. All the beauty of Tigré was present in the valley this day; so, while the Ras was engaged with his game of chess, I slipt away once or twice to give the many charming girls, (whom curiosity had led as near as the sticks of the Ras's slaves would permit them to approach) a clearer view of me, they never having seen a white face before. On re-entering the building, I unexpectedly saw the Muccullah princess Ozoro Endett, and three other ladies belonging to the chief men

of the place; they appeared by no means alarmed at my presence, but rather otherwise, for they invited me to sit down, with which I accordingly complied. The Ozoro was covered with trinkets and chains of gold and silver; even her shoes, in the hands of her slave girls, were of silver studded with gold. These ladies were very free in examining my dress and skin; but nothing seemed to excite their surprize so much as my hair, which, until they touched it, they would not believe to be natural.

"I did not know how the Ras might relish my presence among them; therefore, after shaking the ladies by the hands, I withdrew. I imagine there could not have been less than 10,000 persons assembled together this day, of whom two thirds were females. When the Ras was about to return, a deputation of priests was sent to the building for the crown and other valuables; they were carried back by students, dressed in rich velvets of different colours, and Indian kincaubs; over each of them was carried a red satin umbrella. All the females joined this procession, and in the hand of every one of respectability was a large brass key, made in the same form as those in the hands of the priests. I retired to my apartment at six. The Ras invariably slept after eating.

"Saturday, September 20.—The Ras attended divine service at the church at four this morning, and continued there till seven; at eight one of our servants arrived from Antalow, who brought me a note from Mr. Carter, acquainting me that they were distressed for provisions, the Ras's slaves at that place having given him a very scanty allowance since my departure. I instantly mentioned this circumstance to the Ras through his head feeder, Welled Michael, while at breakfast; and he immediately ordered a messenger to be

called. This man being familiar with the Tigré language, and perhaps aware of the severity of the all-powerful Ras, replied to every question the latter put to him, "all was well, and no complaints." I could not (however vexed I felt) press the matter farther, although I was by this time on such terms with the Ras, that I felt not the slightest hesitation in expressing my satisfaction, or disapprobation, in a proper manner on any occasion. I wished that Mr. Carter had taught this man his lesson before he sent him to me.

"After dinner, when I had returned to my room, a Galla slave of the Ras's came and intruded himself into my apartment, and in a very impudent manner asked me for a cloth. This fellow I had often observed about the person of the Ras, and also the Ras's frequent familiarity in conversation with him. I told him repeatedly to go, as I had nothing for him; but to this he paid little attention. At last I insisted on his quitting the room, and took up a small stick I had at hand. He instantly put his hand upon his jambea, as if to make a kind of resistance. My sword was near me, but I did not choose to put myself on an equality with such a fellow, and therefore went down to the Ras, who by this time had retired to his cot, and when that is the case, it is treason of the highest order to disturb him. However I paid no attention to this, but pushed my way through twenty or thirty Galla slaves, pulled down the purdah, and in a violent pet muttered all the Tigré in my power, strengthened by very intelligible gestures. The Ras instantly understood me, sent for the rascal, and ordered him an immediate drubbing, which was so severe, that I myself called out for mercy on him.

"Sunday, September 22.—I was unexpectedly awakened this

morning at four o'clock to accompany the Ras to Chelicut. We left Muccullah half an hour afterwards. It was a delightful morning, and the first rays of the sun were extremely pleasant, as my fingers were aching with cold, a sensation I had not before felt for some years. Soon after sun rise the dogs were let loose; a great hue and cry ensued, several mules had their knees broken over the rugged ground, and much game was killed. I spied a fine spotted deer, at which I got an excellent shot, but my gun missed fire. I was extremely vexed at this disappointment, which, however, was not to be wondered at, as these people in my absence were perpetually examining the gun, and snapping the lock

" We arrived at Chelicut about nine, and attended the funeral of one of the Ras's servants. I observed, as at the former, that women were the only persons seen to weep. I afterwards visited the church with the Ras, to look at some fresh paintings done by one of the priests; whence we attended a breakfast prepared by the charming Ozoro, which consisted of curds, milk, ghee, brinde, currys of different kinds, a variety of fruit, bread, wheat, peas roasted, and excellent maize, which was handed about chèerfully to all. An old female water-carrier, that constantly followed the Ras, was now introduced with the musical boy; but the tricks that were played with this poor child were as disgusting to behold, as they would be indecorous to relate.

" I fully expected that we should have left this place on the morrow, but the persuasive powers of the Ozoro prevailed upon the Ras to stay till the next day. Supper was served as usual, and the Ras was in high spirits. He introduced me to a sister of Tecla Georgis, the late king, who is now at Waldubba. The Ras was

seated between this lady and myself on the same couch, I therefore could not get an opportunity of speaking to her.

" Monday, September 23.—I went out this morning with the Ras, as I imagined on a hunting excursion, the dogs and attendants having accompanied us; but found that, instead of hunting after birds, all his train was set to clear the weeds from the wheat and teff growing on each side of the stream that runs by Ozoro's mansion.

" This amiable Princess manages her fields so well, that she always gets three crops in a year, having trenches cut to let the water from the river upon the land whenever it is requisite. I remained an hour, and then returned to the house. It is as customary for the Ras to go out on these parties with an empty stomach, as to go to sleep with a full one, both which habits are so different from what I had been used to, that I was sometimes made very uncomfortable from being obliged to adopt them.

" I rejoined the Ras about three in the afternoon, and returned with him at four to Ozoro's dinner, which was much the same as yesterday. Here I again met Ozoro Romai, sister to the late monarch Tecla Georgis. I had a fuller view of this lady now than when we met last; and while the Ras was engaged in conversation with his chief in front, I whispered a word to her through the head feeder. She had the remains of a fine person and a beautiful countenance, with a fair skin; from her appearance, I should have judged her to be no more than thirty or thirty-five years of age. I enquired after Ozoro Mantwaub, and asked the reason why she did not join the Ras in public; to which she replied, that it was not the Ras's pleasure, otherwise she would be very glad. This

lady is very affable and free, and spoke to me always with her face unmuffled. She is very religious, and reads the Bible twice every day to her cousin Mantwaub. She asked me for some beads of the mock pearl kind, which I promised to send to her from Antalow, but immediately presented her with a cross, which pleased her so much, that she gave me her hand on the occasion.

" Tuesday, September 24.—The Ras called me about five this morning, and we left Chelicut soon afterwards, proceeding by the same route as on our journey out from Dixan. The Ras amused himself with his dogs, while I pushed on in front, anxious to see Mr. Carter, and reached Antalow about nine. We were afterwards, on the Ras's arrival, invited to breakfast with him, and when the meal was over returned to our apartment.

" Wednesday, September 25.—I amused myself in the early part of the morning by noting down in our journal, the remarks made by me during the fifteen days I was absent from Antalow with the Ras, and highly regret that I was so situated, from ignorance of the language, as not to have had the opportunity of a free communication with him and his chiefs, as I should have been able to have made my observations more fully.

" Troops had for several days past been assembling at this place from all quarters of the Ras's dominions, for the purpose of attending a review that was to take place, the next day. Numbers were exercising in presence of the Ras, within the court yard of his house. I joined him about ten o'clock; he had previously seated himself in the verandah of a detached building, with his two brothers and other principal chiefs, to view the troops. The number of people collected on this occasion was great, but most of them

were lookers on; for I do not suppose more than six or eight hundred fighting men were present, of whom from forty to fifty were cavalry. The whole were armed with spears and shields, excepting now and then a matchlock. The horsemen galloped round a circle, flourishing their spears in a manner similar to the footmen, who were all in a cluster in the center. I was but little amused, for their actions and gestures were more like the antics of a lunatic, than military evolutions; and being desirous of concluding my journal before the return of Mr. Salt, whom I had every reason to expect in the course of the day, I withdrew about noon. Mr. Salt arrived at three. I was extremely glad to meet him. We had our curry in our apartment in the evening, and amused ourselves with the different adventures we had experienced during our separation

CHAPTER IV.

MR. SALT'S NARRATIVE CONTINUED.

Account of the Review of the Troops of Tigré, &c. by the Ras.—Description of a Brinde Feast.—Arrival of Basha Abdallah at Antalow.—Political conferences with him and the Ras.—Determination of Nathaniel Pearce to remain with the Ras, who promises to provide for him.—Preparations for Mr. Salt's return to Massowah.—Character of the Ras Welleta Selassé.—His attachment to the English.—Some Observations on the Manners and Dispositions of the Abyssinians.—Information respecting the Sources of the Nile, and present State of Gondar.—History of the Revolutions in Abyssinia since the time of Mr. Bruce.

CHAPTER IV.

"SEPTEMBER 26.—THIS day being considered as the principal day of muster, I went with Captain Rudland after breakfast, to the Ras, but Mr. Carter was too unwell to accompany us. On this occasion, I clothed myself in an Abyssinian garment, and Captain Rudland in his British uniform. We found the Ras seated in a small verandah in front of a building, converted to the purpose from a butler's hall, which overlooked a walled inclosure about three hundred yards in circumference. Around him were seated many of his principal chiefs. He received us with his usual attention, seemed much gratified by our change of dress, and placed us immediately beside him on his couch.

"It is difficult to describe the scene that ensued. The outer part of the inclosure was lined with crowds of the inhabitants, and others had mounted the walls, which soon were completely covered with them. Opposite the Ras was a gateway, in a room over which sat a number of officers of state, appointed to regulate the review. Through this gateway the chiefs came in separately, one after the other, each with his respective followers. First entered the cavalry, with the chief at their head, galloping round the circus, and brandishing their spears with great agility. The dresses of these consisted for the most part of kincaubs, embroidered damask, flowered with gold, or black velvet studded with ornaments of silver, thrown as

a scarf over their shoulders, and fastened with a gold clasp across the breast. Round their heads they wore bandages, formed of yellow, green, or red satin, tied behind, long, and streaming loosely as they rode. Some, instead of this ornament, had only fillets of skin round their heads, the hairs of which standing upwards, gave an additional wildness to their appearance. Some few had horns of gold, either perpendicular above their foreheads, or projecting forwards; and several, on the upper part of their arm, had a silver disk, of both which Bruce has given a representation. Others wore bracelets of silver, in the shape of a horse collar, round their right arms, equal in number to the enemies they had slain. The horses were richly caparisoned, and bore on their fronts the bloody garments of foes slaughtered by their riders. Each chief, after riding round the circus seven or eight times, presented himself directly before the Ras, in a menacing attitude, recited in pompous language the actions which he had performed, and concluded by throwing down before him the indubitable trophies of his valour, which had before been hanging above the bracelets on his right arm.* One chief brought only a knife, that he had taken from his opponent. The chiefs are not the only ones who thus present themselves before the Ras, for every ragged rascal, among the foot soldiers who enter in a throng after the horsemen, has the same privilege. Among these latter, horrible to relate, were some wretches, pro-

* Ludolf, speaking of this custom, among the Galla, from whom the custom is probably derived, says, "Adhuc necesse est indicium cæsi hostis post pugnam afferre. Primo quidem capita ceu honestissimam corporis partem attulêrunt; at postquam de sexu imberbium dubitaretur, turpissimum viris amputavêre. Res dictu fœda numerant et cumulant exercitus coram. Hac ratione sciri non potest hostis an socius fuerit occisus."

bably followers of the camp (for they were not soldiers), savage enough to produce unquestionable evidence that boys, not men, had been the victims of their fury. At this I expressed to the Ras my abhorrence so strongly, that, actuated by the same feelings, he refused them those marks of his approbation which he had invariably shewn to others. The inferior warriors were clad in skins, chiefly those of sheep, some of which were bordered with blue and red of different shades. Intermixed with the foot soldiers, who were mostly armed with spears and shields, the matchlock men came in most irregular order to the number of at least fifteen hundred, whose gestures were, if possible, more ludicrous than those of the spearmen, imitating, as it appeared to me, men hunting wild beasts among the bushes; the conclusion of their frolic was firing their musquets as nearly as possible to the legs of their opponents, then drawing their knives, and making a blow to finish the murderous execution of their matchlocks. There were in this way many single mock fights between spearmen and musqueteers, but it was always managed that the latter should prove victorious. This extraordinary review was concluded by the marching in on one side of the Ras's band, mounted on mules, and beating the heavy drums, and on the other of men bearing the ornaments of the church walking in procession.

"This day greatly biassed our opinion in favour of the horsemanship of the Abyssinians: I think them in this respect fully equal to the Arabs, and, considering the stirrups that they use, which are merely small rings of iron into which they put the two larger toes, this is no slight praise. In the use of the spear they are particularly expert, and they have a peculiar method of vibrating

it in the hand, which has a very warlike and classical appearance. In fine, they seem to be as complete horsemen as possible without discipline, of which indeed they are totally ignorant. If Ras Michael Suhul could bring 5000 matchlocks into the field, the strength of Tigré must have dwindled away since that time very considerably under the present Ras; which I believe to be the case, as he permits his tributes to be paid in cloth instead of fire arms. It is also probable that he has no matchlocks in store, for on this very day, when a damaged one was brought him, he supplied its place by taking another out of the hands of one of his soldiers.

" It is necessary, in order to give a complete idea of the dependence of the chiefs upon the Ras, to state, that several of those who were the most elegantly dressed and attended by the most numerous followers, were men holding situations in the Ras's household, such as the chief of the maize, of the bread, and others.

" There were a few, however, very haughty and imperious in their manners, among whom the most remarkable was Fit Aurari Zogo, a man of very handsome person and expressive countenance. This warrior obliged at least two hundred persons, who were sitting between himself and the Ras, to move, before he would condescend to make his address, which he at last did in a very proud and dignified manner, turning his horse round and round, and at each time resuming what he had before said. After the soldiers there were also a great many unarmed elderly men, cultivators of the ground, who came and made their obeisance before the Ras. During this last ceremony he sat very unconcerned, taking little notice of any excepting two of the most conspicuous. During the review, the Ras was extremely attentive, and his notice of the chiefs was acutely

distributed in proportion to their power. As we were going away, he stopped us all to witness a Galla dance and song, with which he was particularly amused. The review being concluded, the principal chiefs came up and joined the Ras; among whom I noticed a Galla Mussulmaun, who had twenty-nine rings of silver on his arm; and many of the other chiefs had from ten to twenty.

"From this exhibition we adjourned to the great hall, where every thing was prepared for a grand feast. A long table was placed in the middle of the hall, at the upper end of which, in a recess, the floor of which was raised about half a foot above the level of the room, was a couch, with two large pillows covered with striped satin, and behind this stood a lower couch covered with a handsome skin. The Ras led the way, leaning on two of his principal chiefs, and took his seat on the higher couch, inviting us at the same time to occupy the couch behind. The chiefs in the mean time ranged themselves on their haunches (for there were no benches) on each side of the table, and behind the Ras, crowding in two or three ranks towards the upper end of the room. The sides of the table were covered to the height of a foot by piles of teft bread in the form of round thin pancakes, about two feet and a half in diameter, and down the middle of the table was ranged a single row of dishes, consisting of hot curry made of fowl, mutton, ghee, and curds. A quantity of fine wheaten bread in large rolls, was prepared for the use of the Ras; these he broke, and first distributed to us, and afterwards to some of the chiefs by whom he was surrounded. This ceremony served as a signal to begin the feast; upon which several female slaves, placed at different parts of the table (having previously washed their hands in the presence of the

Ras), dipped the teft bread into the curries and other dishes, and distributed it among the guests. A man, whose particular business it was, performed the same office for the Ras, who immediately handed a portion to us, and then to some of the chiefs, who, on receiving it, got up and bowed: balls also of curds, greens, and teft bread mixed together, were handed about.

" During this time the cattle were killing on the outside of the hall. This is done by laying the beast down on the ground, and with a jambea knife nearly separating the head from the body, pronouncing at the same time, " Bis m' Allah Guebra Menfus Kedus", a style of invocation that seems to be borrowed from the followers of Mohammed. The skin is then stripped with all possible expedition from one side of the animal, and the entrails, lights, liver, and tripes, are taken out, which latter the attendants voraciously devour as their perquisite, sometimes even without paying much regard to the trouble of cleaning them. The flesh of the animal, of which the rump and heart are considered as prime delicacies, is cut into large pieces, and, while the fibres are yet quivering, is brought in to the guests, who, by this time, have consumed as much as they please of the curries and other dishes.

" The brinde, as this raw flesh is called, was in irregular pieces, but commonly adhering to a bone, by which the attendants carried it; it was then handed round to the chiefs, who, with their crooked knives, cut off a large steak, which they afterwards dissected very dexterously into strips, about half an inch in diameter, holding it at the same time between the two fore fingers of the left hand.

" Having thus prepared their meat, they took it up with the left

H. Salt Esqr Pinx^t

J. Fittler Sculp^t

A BRIND FEAST.

hand and put it into their mouths; such at least was the usual practice with the Ras and all the chiefs whom we had an opportunity of observing, on this and many other occasions. I mention these seemingly trifling particulars, to shew that Bruce is mistaken when he asserts, that "no man in Abyssinia, of any fashion whatever, feeds himself, or touches his own meat;" indeed so far from this delicacy being observed, it is extremely common for the highest chiefs to help their neighbours round, and not unfrequently even their women, as we afterwards particularly observed at the table of Gusmati Ischias, who was one of the first fashion at Gondar when Bruce was there. If the piece happened not to please the person who cut it off, he handed it to a dependant behind him, from whom it sometimes passed to a seventh hand, if not approved.

"While the brinde was serving up, of which the quantity consumed is scarcely credible, the maize was distributed about very plentifully in brulhes, or Venetian glasses, horns being used only for booza. The first party being satisfied, retired from table, and was succeeded by another of inferior rank, by which the remains of the brinde were consumed. After these came a third, a fourth, and even a fifth party, who were obliged to content themselves with the coarse teft bread, and a single horn of booza, and were driven away by the master of the ceremonies before they had taken their fill. Near the conclusion of the feast, the Ras sent off from the table large quantities of teft bread, for the followers of those chiefs most in favour. The whole ended with a violent scramble for the last cakes, during which it seemed to be a point of etiquette to make as much uproar and confusion as possible. During the feast there were a few boys permitted to remain, by favour, under the table, to pick

up what fell from the guests; but if any one be discovered there who has not permission, he is beaten severely by blows given with the elbow. There were also one or two men with small crosses in their hands, which they held out, intimating thereby that they were t that time obliged to fast.

" There were present at this feast many chiefs that I knew, especially Nebrida Aram, Basha Tokla, Basha Guebra Eyut, Ballambaras Guebra Amlac, and Welleta Gabriel, all of whom were very polite in paying their compliments to us, and seemed to be very anxious to attract our notice. I afterwards gratified them highly by distributing some snuff and cherry-brandy among them, of which they are all exceedingly fond. Of the former the Ras partook; the latter he could not be induced to taste, though all his chiefs much commended it.

" September 27.—I was waited upon at an early hour by Basha Abdallah, who had come from Adowa at the Ras's desire, in a great measure for the purpose of settling the arrangements between us. I had not seen much of him at Adowa, but was given to understand that he was a man of considerable ability, and much in the confidence of the Ras, holding a place under him of great importance, and being considered as at the head of the Mussulmauns in Tigré. Through him all correspondence with the Court and the different chiefs of the country is carried on; and all interior arrangements of trade are entrusted to him. As, however, he was attended on this occasion by Hadjee Hamed, whom I knew to be particularly inimical to us, and completely in the interest of the Sheriffe of Mecca, I did not think it advisable to enter into any full discussion about the purpose of our coming, of which they still pretended ignorance, and

therefore I merely repeated what I had before stated on the subject. I then turned the discourse to the necessity of our immediate return, as by the time we could reach Massowah, the ship would be waiting our arrival; at the same time I urged a wish, that we might go back by the way of Adowa, as my friends, Captain Rudland and Mr. Carter, were extremely anxious to visit that city. I concluded by saying, that if the Ras had any communication to make to Lord Valentia, or through him to our Government, I should hope his letters would be speedily prepared.

" Basha Abdallah, in return, said, that the Ras was extremely anxious about our safety and accommodation, and would be glad, he was sure, to comply with our wishes; that there had indeed been persons attempting to bias him against us, but that he was still, as much as ever, our friend. He particularly alluded on this occasion to Currum Chund the Banyan, who, he said, had written to the Ras since our arrival, bidding him beware of us as dangerous persons.

" I had at this time given up all intention of farther incursions into the country, which had been proposed in my former conversations with the Ras; and this I was compelled to, from the certainty that we should even now suffer some distress for want of money, our stock being already reduced extremely low; besides, the period when I expected the ship to be at Massowah was fast approaching. In the course of the day we received fruit and bread from the Ras, it being a fast.

" September 28.—Having heard nothing of Basha Abdallah in the morning, I took the opportunity of the Ras's being alone, after his mid-day's repose, and went down to him in the hall with

Captain Rudland (Hamed Chamie and Ibrahim being out in the town); our communication with him at the first was of a trifling nature. We presented to him some small trinkets for his Ozoro, which gave him much pleasure; I also gave him an English guinea which he said he would have fixed on the top of one of his knives. He then sent for some arrack made at Antalow, of which we drank a small quantity. He was very curious concerning the method of making this spirit, and expressed a wish that we would manufacture some for him from a quantity of dried plantains then in his possession. We represented the impossibility of this from want of proper apparatus, and also from our never having been engaged in any pursuit of the kind, this being in our country, as we informed him, the business of a distinct set of men, who sold it, when made, to the rest. Our interpreters now coming in, I requested some private conversation with the Ras, on which all the slaves were sent out of the room.

" I now urged to him my surprize at having heard nothing from Basha Abdallah, in answer to the communication which I had made through him. The Ras said, that he had had many strangers with him in the morning, which had prevented his sending us an answer sooner, but that he expected Basha Abdallah every minute, and if I pleased, would send to hasten his coming. I told him that I was sorry that it was not in my power to speak my sentiments to him at once without an interpreter; that the interest of Mussulmauns was so directly contrary to ours as Christians, that it was impossible for me to say through a Mussulmaun interpreter, the things which I wished to communicate; that all these people were in the interest of the Sheriffe of Mecca, who at present supplied his country

with all its imports, at double the rate of what the English could do, if he were to cultivate their friendship: how, then, could I speak through men so interested? He seemed much struck by these words, and in some measure distressed, like a man, who sees some advantage before him, which he is afraid of grasping at. After a pause, he asked me if we were at war with the Sheriffe; I told him, no; but that, on the contrary, he had sued to us, only so far back as last year, for assistance (being conscious of our superior power) against the Wahabee, by whom he was surrounded. Many ejaculations of surprise burst from him on hearing this. He would not, however, permit me to proceed until the arrival of Basha Abdallah, who came in a few minutes after.

"The Ras now made him repeat the whole of what had passed in my room on the day before, which he seemed to do in so clear and manly a way, that I was at once satisfied of his being a very different person from the former interpreter, Hadjee Hamed. There were many parts of his discourse which excited the Ras's admiration, and he repeatedly turned to me with ejaculations of surprise.

"After listening attentively to the whole account, he replied, that he, as well as myself, had been much imposed upon; as, until this moment, he had never fully comprehended the motives of our visit; that he had repeatedly received letters from different quarters, advising him to be upon his guard against us; that his chiefs, also, had been constantly urging him to send us to a distance from his house, as they knew that we meditated his destruction; and that they had even advised him not to eat or drink in our presence, lest we should poison him. All this, nevertheless, had made no impres-

sion on his mind; he had found us very different in our conduct from what they had reported, and he felt much attached to us. "They have also been advising me," he added, "to send my soldiers to open your boxes, as they believed them to be full of gold, silver, and jewels; but how could I be guilty of an action like this? I should expect, if I had set such an example, in a short time to have my own house pulled down and plundered. No, I replied; and I asked them, how would these people have journeyed safe through different countries, if they had been unwise enough to carry treasures of this kind?" He went on to declare, that his heart was now entirely with us, and that if we wished it, he would swear to comply with all our wishes, and to protect us and every article belonging to us safely to Massowah. "Or stay with me," he continued, "as long as you please, and be your safety on my head." His mind being now at ease, he spoke with great pleasure upon the subject of future communication with the English; at the same time giving me to understand, that I should hear farther from him on this subject through Basha Abdallah.

"I then turned the conversation on our going away, which I proposed to be on the following Monday, expressing my desire to go by the way of Adowa. To this he gave no positive answer, saying, that he did not wish to trust our persons on the road between Adowa and Dixan, as the people there were not under his command. He also begged that I would defer our journey a few days longer than I proposed; to which I immediately assented.

"September 29.—The Ras in the morning sent us a bullock, and soon after one of his attendants came with three double pieces of cloth of the finest Adowa manufactory, as presents to me, Captain

H. Salt del.

ABYSSINIAN YOUNG PRIEST.—WOODCUTTER.—GALLA PLAYING ON THE PIPE.

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Rudland, and Mr. Carter; to which we returned suitable compliments. The day passed without any thing worthy of remark. I was engaged in penning my sketches of Axum, and Captain Rudland in copying our journal.

" September 30.—Our bullock, which was slaughtered yesterday, furnished all our followers with brinde, after we had selected a considerable quantity of the flesh to be cured for consumption on the journey.

" We were upon such familiar terms with the Ras, that we went in and out of his room whenever we chose, and we had, these two days, much more communication with the town. He also permitted several young men, educated to the priesthood, to attend upon us; and we found them, as well as all the Christians with whom we had any communication, very willing and apt to acquire information.

" I was engaged this day in painting a picture of the Virgin Mary and Christ for the Ras, at his particular request. In the evening I and Captain Rudland paid him a visit. We found him, as usual, on the carpet playing at chess, to which he devoted much of his time. His common adversary at this game, was a man apparently of no rank or consequence, paid for the purpose, and whose great skill appeared to consist in keeping the game alive; always permitting the Ras to be victorious, and to cheat as much as he thought proper. A lady came in during our stay, who brought a present to the Ras of two cows, and was in consequence very graciously received. The weather was fine."

" October 1.—The day passed in our usual occupations of drawing and writing. Having finished the picture for the Ras, I this

evening presented it to him. It excited great admiration, particularly the workmanship of the chair, and eight little angels flying around, which I had finished highly on purpose to please him.

" Pearce had several times hinted to me his wish to stay in the country, having been invited by the Ras, who promised to provide for him, and take him under his immediate protection. I had hitherto declined any opinion on the subject, but rather advised him to the contrary, from a fear that he might be deceived in his expectations. I was, however, very unwilling absolutely to prevent his following the bent of his inclination, as the disappointment might afterwards remain in his breast a continual subject of discontent; his gratitude to Lord Valentia was unbounded, for having rescued him from Mocha, and formed the only tie that I had upon him. He had however declared, that he would make no engagement without having previously obtained my approbation. The Ras this evening asked him the question in my presence; when I took the opportunity of telling him, that I should leave him entirely to the guidance of his own wishes, as I did not conceive myself intitled to thwart him in any scheme of life that he might choose to adopt. In consequence of my advice, he had in the evening a personal conference with the Ras, who treated him with great attention. He questioned him much with regard to his capacity as a soldier, his ability in painting, and his knowledge of physic; to which Pearce very properly answered, that he was only slightly acquainted with the two latter arts, but would do his best for him; that as to the other, it had been the employment of his life. The next enquiry was, whether he could write and read English; in both of which he was a tolerably good proficient. This seemed greatly to please the Ras, who

said, that he hoped shortly to see more Englishmen; and that he would, in the mean time, provide him with every help for studying the Abyssinian language, that he might be of service in explaining their mutual wishes. He farther added, that he need be under no apprehension, as all the chiefs would treat him as a brother; that he would keep him always near his own person, and provide for him accordingly; that he should, in the first place, attend him on the expedition to Gondar, which would commence as soon as we were safely on our journey, and afterwards he should have time to study the language, and make some drawings for the churches; which being done, he would have permission to go into any part of the kingdom that he pleased, with a special protection from him, the Ras; and that whenever he became tired of his situation, should be provided with the means of returning to Massowah. To these terms Pearce assented; and in reply to the first part of the Ras's speech, told him, that being an Englishman, he never knew what fear was; with which the Ras was much gratified; and answered, that, though very old, his own feelings were the same.

"I was of opinion, that Pearce's determination to stay in the country might be of considerable importance, for the following reasons: he is quick in acquiring any language, which will very much facilitate any intercourse hereafter with the inhabitants. He writes well, and expresses himself with sufficient clearness on any subject, and possibly may be able to collect much interesting information; if engaged in the wars with the Galla, or if permitted to visit Gondar, or elsewhere, in which case, his knowledge of drawing, which is for an untaught person considerable, might be brought to good account. He is, so far as I have seen, well inclined, and a

deserving man, and will not, I think, disgrace his country by cowardice or meanness.

" October 2.—I spent this morning in making preparations for our journey, writing instructions for Pearce, and finishing some sketches of plants. At about three, I went, with Captain Rudland, down to the Ras. We found him in the farther yard, surrounded by a small party of his chiefs. He invited us to partake of their repast, as also Mr. Carter, whose company he sent to request. We were, as usual, seated beside him, and were all much gratified with our entertainment. It being fast day we were regaled with several dishes of fish, which were excellent, and with parched wheat and peas, the former unripe: these constitute a considerable part of the Ras's food on all fast days. There were present the two great rivals, Baharnegash Yasous, and Subagadis, seated on opposite sides of the table; but the latter was only in the second rank. It has generally been observed by us, that young men, even of the highest rank and consequence, are kept much in the back-ground when in presence of the Ras.

" Basha Abdallah was sent for by the Ras, that we might have some conversation with him; it was entirely of a light description, not worthy of being recorded. The late Aboona's interpreter came to pay his respects to me; he seemed to be in tolerable favour at court. On our taking leave, the Ras appointed a conference with us at an early hour on the morrow.

" October 3.—After taking coffee, about five we were informed that the Ras was ready to receive us. We entered upon the conversation, by presenting him with as many of our medicines as we thought we could spare, which, after enumerating their several uses,

were put under the care of Pearce, who was then regularly engaged in his service. A singular request was made to us, with which, however, as we found him earnestly bent upon it, we complied. This was to swear, that whatever physic we left with him, should not poison him. This both Captain Rudland and I did, by laying hold of his hand, and declaring, " that in the presence of the God whom we both worshipped, we solemnly declared that the physic we then left with him, was for his benefit, and not to injure any one." Hamed Chamie afterwards swore by Mahomed as to the justness of his interpretation. This ceremony had a great effect upon the Ras; he seemed perfectly happy in consequence, and declared that he should ever esteem the English as his best friends. From this it would appear, that great respect is paid here to the solemnity of an oath.

" After this I began upon the subject of our journey, pressing him very strongly to permit us to return by the way of Adowa, as I was extremely anxious to have another examination of the ancient ruins at Axum. It was a long time before I could obtain this point, and I should never have been able to accomplish it, if the Ras had not had a request to make in return, with which he was extremely desirous I should comply. This was, that I would make him a present of a blunderbuss, with a spring bayonet, which I had with me, belonging to Lord Valentia. I at first refused, on the plea, that this was the only thing not in my power to give away; and on his urging it a second time, I begged to defer resigning it till I arrived at Massowah. This would not satisfy him. He said, he was sure that Lord Valentia would let him have it with pleasure, when he knew how anxiously he desired it. Finding that no refusal would be taken,

I at length complied with the best grace in my power, telling him, that there was nothing in my possession belonging to Lord Valentia, which he so highly valued as this blunderbuss.

" He now expressed his intention of sending to Lord Valentia, a spear, a shield, and a knife, as specimens of the arms of the country; that he would send his own knife, and whatever spear and shield I might choose. Among several spears I selected one with two heads, as being more curious than the others. We then proceeded to settle about our mules for the road: three had been given me by Baharnegash Yasous; the Ras told me that he would also give me three, and lend me three others as far as Adowa, from which place I must trust to my friend Basha Abdallah. Bearers were also to be provided by the Ras as far as Adowa, where I was to hire others to Dixan. This inconvenience attending our road, was before mentioned by the Ras; but the advantage that I hoped to derive from it, was much more than equivalent. The Ras sent me in the afternoon the spear and shield.

" October 4.—I was engaged the whole of the morning in finishing some sketches, and making a few drawings of heads, and one of St. George and the Dragon, for Pearce's use. In the evening Captain Rudland and I went down to the Ras, and partook of his fast-day's repast. He expressed much pleasure on seeing us, and presented me the knife for Lord Valentia, which had been sent to have a new scabbard made for it. It is as handsome as the generality of those worn by the principal men in the country. It is however to be observed, that the Ras seems greatly to pride himself on the plainness of his dress and accoutrements. He gave me a brace of partridges, that were just brought in by his sportsmen; and a little

after the large horns of the country being fortunately introduced, he presented a very large one to Captain Rudland, and another of a finer sort to me, which was at the top nearly seven inches in diameter. All these horns are said to be brought to Tigré from Gondar; but they are chiefly manufactured, or made into cups, in Gojam. The animal which produces them is called Gusht, or wild cow, which chiefly abounds in the province of Walkayt, but they are said to be domesticated in the province of Ras-el-Feel. The horns hang back on the neck of the animal, from the skin of which shields also are made. This would lead to the supposition of its being a buffalo, were not the horns smooth, round, and very different from those of this last named animal. The use which the Abyssinians make of the entire horn, is to carry maize for them when on a journey.

"We learned this evening from Basha Abdallah, that, in consequence of intelligence of the death of Ozoro Tuckai, at Axum, having just reached him, it would not be in his power to leave Antalow at the time we had fixed upon, he therefore hoped that we would put off our journey till Thursday, the Ras also having letters to send, which would not be ready before. With this I, of course, complied.

"October 5.—I went down in the evening to the Ras, and finding him busily engaged with Basha Abdallah in private conference, I sat down with Captain Rudland to the chess-board; but we had not finished a game when the Ras came to us. He was in high spirits, and much pleased at finding us amusing ourselves. It was now communicated to us by Basha Abdallah, that he was desirous all our baggage should be got ready, that he might ascertain how many men would be required to carry it; he also hinted, that he wished me

to mention to the Ras, my consent to stay until Thursday, in order to go with him; with which he was much gratified. I had afterwards private information from Basha Abdallah, that the Ras was highly pleased with the thought of an intercourse with England; and for this purpose he wished much that our vessels should come to Buré, as he had found the chief of that place, who had been with him during my absence, extremely well inclined to our interests; that letters expressing these wishes would be expedited by Government, and that some of the finest cloths in the country were preparing as presents.

" October 6.—I was engaged in drawing the picture of a young Galla boy, kept at Antalow by the Ras, and thought to be the son of a chief of high rank; he was taken in war when an infant, and much respect was paid him, being allowed several attendants. I also made a drawing of Pearce in his Abyssinian dress. I paid a visit to the Ras in the evening, as usual, and found much company there, among others, Ozoro Romai, and Ozoro Esther; Basha Guebra Eyut, Barrambaras Toklu, Fit Aurari Zogo, the chief who distinguished himself so much on the day of the festival, and Ayto Selassé from Adowa. On our first entrance, we found a violent dispute going on between the latter and Barrambaras; both were pleading in strong terms their respective causes before the Ras, and confirming their assertions by giving their right hands, and swearing by one of their most sacred oaths, which is, " Welleta Selassé emot," or " May the Ras die if it be not true."—The Ras soon afterwards retired; and we had an opportunity of remarking in what a free and unreserved style the Abyssinians pass their time in private parties. Barrambaras was lying with his

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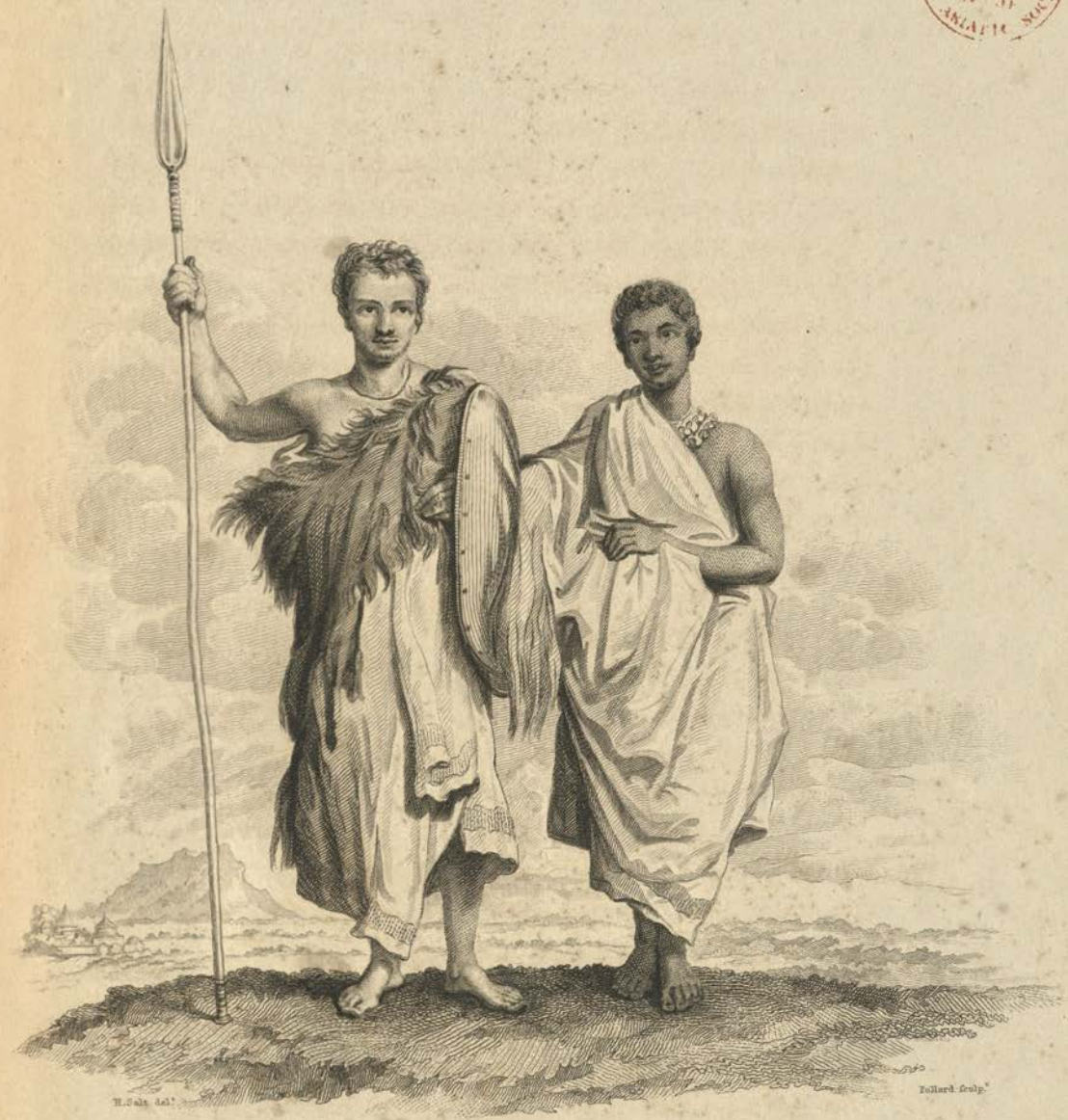

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FIERCE IN HIS ABYSSINIAN DRESS.—— A YOUNG GALLA OF HIGH RANK.

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head in the lap of Ozoro Esther, whispering in her ear, and another chief was endeavouring to interpret between Captain Rudland and Ozoro Romai. There seemed indeed very little restraint among them; and I do not doubt that they carry their familiarity much farther, when perfectly at liberty in the houses of mutual friends. We waited till the return of the Ras, paid our compliments, and retired.

"October 7.—We were engaged as usual, in drawing and writing, and in the evening paid a visit to the Ras, who was at his old occupation, chess. He was in higher spirits than in general, and invited us to stay supper with him: many ladies of rank were present, but Ozoro Romai was distinguished above all, by being seated on the Ras's couch. I understood she was only the mistress of Tecla Georgis, who for a short time filled the throne: she was fair, and possessed some remains of beauty. The discourse was, as usual, perfectly unrestrained. The old Ras encouraged the freedom of conversation; he also himself offered Captain Rudland an Ozoro if he would stay in the country. On that gentleman's answering that he would return to him, "I fear," said the Ras, "that I shall be dead before that time." After supper, one of our Arab attendants, Seid, highly amused the Ras and his ladies, by the performance of some slight-of-hand tricks, with swords and staves, at which the Arabs are extremely expert. The Ras was indeed so much gratified, that he tried much to persuade him to stay in the country, making him many promises; to all of which he remained obdurate, saying, "where my master goes, I will go; if he does not stay, I will not, though I should receive a thousand dollars." The evening, upon the whole, was passed very pleasantly, with great glee and merriment.

" October 8.—Basha Abdallah came to me early in the morning, and accompanied Captain Rudland and myself to the Ras. Every thing was finally arranged for our journey, which was to commence on Thursday morning. Two of our mules having died, the Ras offered us two more as far as Adowa. Hadjib and Seid, our Arab servants, were sent for by the Ras to amuse him with their feats, and he again tried much to persuade them to stay in the country.

" The troops from the different districts remained encamped on the surrounding hills; the chiefs had small tents made of the common cloth of the country, and their followers occupied convenient sheds, formed with the branches of trees, covered with grass.

" In the evening we went to the Ras, and were again invited to sup with him. Many young ladies of rank were present, among whom I noticed Welleta Aram, a daughter of Belgaida Welleta Menassé, and the two fair daughters of Poolar, the chief cowkeeper to the Ras. The first of Nebrida Aram's daughters was also fair; the other, a daughter of the Ras's brother, was extremely dark, though possessing more regular features. The conversation this evening was of a more modest nature than usual; and, in their general behaviour, these girls appeared to be much more reserved and decorous than most of the women of rank we had hitherto met with. The evening was passed pleasantly, but the Ras was far from being in good spirits.

" October 9.—We had a visit this morning from our friend Baharnegash Yasous, who expressed great pleasure, both on account of the manner in which we had been received, and also at the idea of accompanying us on our return so far as Massowah. We learned

that our friend Subagadis had been put in irons by the Ras, for some hasty words spoken to Belgaida Welleta Hannes, who enjoyed great consequence at the court. We had also a visit from the keeper of the Ras's cows, who was daily in the habit of bringing us milk, in return for some physic that Captain Rudland gave him, to drive out, as he expressed it, " a devil in his inside;" which most fortunately succeeded. We were fully occupied with preparations for our departure. Guebra Welleta Selassé, at my request, obtained permission from the Ras to attend us to Massowah, and anticipated much delight from seeing the ship, the guns, the great men, &c. I used to call this fellow the Devil (at which he always laughed), for in cunning, deceitfulness, and perversity, I never have seen his equal; yet in travelling he was very useful to us, though difficult to manage. This man was originally a Mussulmaun, but has been converted to the Christian faith, and is now employed by the Ras as a messenger: for his pay he receives forty dollars and as many pieces of cloth per annum, and a mule; besides which, there is a piece of land assigned him, which yields forty gerbuttehs of grain, six of which sell on the spot for a dollar, and only four, if carried to Adowa. This, with what he gets on his mission through the country, which we are told amounts to much more (especially when he is sent to settle any dispute about tribute), enables him to keep four servants; to three of whom he gives five pieces of cloth, and to the other, two, besides their food. We had repeated solicitations from many persons, and from some of considerable consequence, to take them with us to England; and, in fact, I believe that there are few who would not be very glad to go with us. The chiefs, it is true, fare well; but as for the lower class, I believe that

they rarely get sufficient, even of the coarse teff bread of which their food almost entirely consists. The pay of the Ras's soldiers, beside their food, is only from thirteen to fifteen pieces of cloth in the year, and his head builder has but six wakeas of gold a year, and two gerbuttehs of corn per month. Money seems to be an extremely scarce article, from its being chiefly employed in the Massowah commerce; and the want of small currency for common use, is a most serious inconvenience throughout the country. The carriage of a dollar's worth of salt to any distance, would scarcely be repaid by the small sum which it produces; and that this is the case, can be only owing to the cheapness of labour and provisions. The price of maize is about one penny per quart. The value of a dollar at Antalow is equal to twenty-eight pieces of salt; but the greater part of the traffick is carried on by exchange. One piece of cloth (about a dollar) will buy five gerbuttehs of grain.

" Letters were delivered to me this morning by the Ras, from his Sovereign, for the King of England, which I was requested to convey safely to Lord Valentia. With them several complete dresses of the finest cloth, manufactured in the country, were sent as presents. These were delivered to me in great form. In the afternoon I went down with Captain Rudland to the Ras, and he invited us to partake of his fast-day's repast, consisting, as usual, of fish, Indian corn, and wheat grilled. He was kinder than ever in his attention to us, and gave me, on their being accidentally brought in, two rhinoceros's horns, and a partridge; the latter of which I sent to Mr. Carter. I, in return, as a parting gift, presented the Ras with a convex lens, having observed his great delight on seeing the effect of the sun's rays through it, which I had before repeatedly tried on gunpowder,

and the cotton clothes of some of his attendants. We afterwards took our leave with great, and, I trust, mutual regret, not knowing whether we should meet again before our departure, which we had fixed for an early hour in the morning.

" The kind attentions which we received from the Ras during our stay at Antalow, must ever make me remember him with respect and esteem; yet I do not consider him as a man of any great ability. He gained his power by cunning, rather than by strength of character; and though not remarkably brave, maintains himself in his high station by a dexterous management of parties. But to accomplish this, he sacrifices in a great degree the importance of his command; for to conciliate a chief, he will often remit a portion of his tribute. His power, notwithstanding, is very great, and the district immediately under his rule is very extended, comprehending, the whole of that part of Abyssinia which is to the eastward of the Tacazza, and which includes the provinces of Siré, Tigré Enderta, of which Antalow is the capital, Upper and Lower Buré, and the whole of the Midré Bahar, or district bordering on the Sea.

" After the cruel administration of Michael Suhul, the mild government of the present Ras is most grateful to the Tigrians; and from the number of matchlocks in this district, it always has held, and is still likely to keep up a superiority over the more remote provinces of the empire. I had no means of judging of the population, except from the land being cultivated wherever it admitted of it, and from the number of the troops assembled at the review, which certainly exceeded ten thousand. More than double this number I understood, could be assembled in time of war.

" During the rainy season, from May to October, the Ras resides at Antalow. I do not exactly know what induced him to make choice of this place in preference to Adowa, but it appears to me ill calculated for a capital, as water is only to be procured at a considerable distance from the dwelling houses, and there is not a single agreeable spot in the neighbourhood for a residence. It is also very difficult of access; but this objection which, in more secure states, would be a great inconvenience, is perhaps the very circumstance which gives a peculiar value to the situation, as it forms a barrier against the incursions of the Galla.

" A good deal of attention is paid to ceremony at Antalow. Most of those who come into the presence of the Ras uncover themselves to the waist; others expose only the breast, and afterwards replace their garments. Mussulmauns are permitted to appear before him with their heads covered, as also the priests, and some few of the Christian chiefs. All mechanics, or people employed in business, such as cooking, &c. wear a cloth about their heads. No one in public addresses the Ras without rising from the ground, and uncovering to the waist; but, after the first address, they are often permitted to speak sitting. This does not hold good, however, in their private parties, where they are all huddled together on the ground in a most happy equality. Equals salute each other by kissing whenever they meet, and repeat their compliments over and over again like their neighbours the Arabs. With all their freedom, they are scrupulous observers of the laws of good breeding established among themselves, and are particularly attentive to their friends, especially at meals, where they make it a point to feed each other. The Ras wears a small piece of the finest cloth upon his head, and

has always six or seven slaves in attendance, one of whom brushes the flies away with a choury made of cow's tail; the business of another is to replace his garment, when it falls down from off his shoulders, unless the minister should be present, to whom this office then devolves. All ranks appeared to stand in great awe of his authority, except a few favourite slaves, who seemed to be perfectly at their ease; among them were two blacks from Sennaar, who had the broad Negro features, and whose hair, the Ras once observed, was like black pepper.

" In the decision of causes, which ever party may be in the wrong it generally turns to the advantage of the Ras, who decides the matter. The parties begin by denying each other's statement: one then proceeds to say, that if he is found in the wrong he will forfeit to the judge a quantity of salt, a mule, slaves or gold, or whatever the other may be willing to stake upon his veracity. The other having agreed to a fixed penalty, the cause is put off until farther evidence is brought, when the party in the wrong is convicted and punished, only by the loss of what he had voluntarily pledged himself to risk: they then kiss the ground three times, and retire.

" I was informed that land descends by inheritance from father to son, and if there is no son, to the brother; but that all the children and relations have a claim to a maintenance. In default of kindred, people often make over their land to a friend to be sold; half the produce going to the poor, and half to the priests. The Ras never thinks of removing any chief, or of interfering with him, so long as the established tribute is paid. There are many of his relations, to whom he has granted land free of all rent, among whom are Barrambarras Toklu, and Basha Guebra Eyatt. I en-

quired, if there should be another Ras, whether they would be compelled to pay tribute? to which I was answered, no! they will plead not having paid it to the former.

"Great men take as many wives as they please; but it is difficult to get rid of them, owing to their connections, who always resent any affront offered to the women. Shum Woldo, in particular, had forty wives, and left behind him upwards of one hundred children. Having divorced one of his wives, her father made strong remonstrances on the subject, and repeating this too often, the haughty Shum's temper was at last so much enraged, that he made an attempt in his anger to kill the old man, by firing a matchlock at him. Marriages are very easily made up; the parties go to any friend's house, and there enter into an engagement with each other, without the presence of a priest being necessary.

"So far from enjoying a free intercourse with the males, as is asserted by Mr. Bruce, it is certain that the married women are watched with some caution by their husbands, and even occasionally secluded from male society, as in the case of Ozoro Mantwaub. So alive is the Ras to the feelings of jealousy, that he has never acknowledged his only son, a child about three years old, in consequence of a suspicion of its mother's fidelity. Mr. Bruce has been equally incorrect in stating that bastards, or the offspring of a connection between the master and a domestic servant, can inherit the father's property. They are, in fact, considered as little better than menials, except that they are not obliged to work. They are savage in their treatment of children, yet respectful towards women, whom nevertheless they, in our opinion, treat with little regard to decency in their conversation; but the gross and disgusting scenes which

Mr. Bruce describes as following a brinde feast, I firmly believe existed only in his own imagination. His account of the flesh cut out of living animals was repeatedly enquired into by our party; all to whom we spoke, denied its ever being done. Raw flesh had been observed by all travellers, before Mr. Bruce, as the common food of the Abyssinians, but Mr. Bruce makes no distinction between the two, or rather wishes to confound them together, that he may seem to have the countenance of Poncet and the Jesuits; but none of them ever mentioned the eating of flesh stripped from a living animal, though Mr. Bruce is impudent enough to say that this was the ordinary banquet of citizens, and even priests, throughout all the country. The feast given by the Ras on the grand review of his troops, at which we were present, was a most convincing proof to the contrary.

"Calves and lambs are not eaten; but I doubt if this be not done from the prudential motive of keeping up the stock of cattle, the consumption of which is enormous. Wild-fowl is also a prohibited article, which seems to be the adoption of a Jewish custom. Hogs are not kept tame; but in opposition to the Jews, they seem to have no objection to them wild; a quarter was presented to Captain Rudland while residing with the Ras at Muccullah. With Mussulmauns they will neither eat, drink, nor smoke, but have no objection to do so with strangers, when convinced that they are Christians. They are least particular with respect to drinking, as I have repeatedly seen them drink out of the same cup. The Mussulmauns will eat of the bread and fish from the Ras's table, and even in his presence. The higher orders are extremely regular in attending to the established fast days, which take up one third of the year, but

this does not hold good with the lower class, who devour, rather than eat, whatever they can get, at all times. They are charitable in assisting the distressed; our servants often saved bread to give to beggars, which at the time that we returned from Adowa, were very numerous, sitting by the highway. Even to dogs they are humane, though they dislike them, permitting them to have free access to their houses.

" We had several strong instances of their honesty to us, which might however have been caused by fear; for we witnessed many instances of their roguery, in attempting to convey away articles belonging to the houses we stopped at. They are also exceedingly suspicious of each other; which pretty strongly proves that the lower classes are addicted to pilfering. All are eager for presents, which they frequently rather demand than request.

" When I found that I must give up all hopes of penetrating beyond the Tacazza, I took every occasion to make enquiries of such persons as were likely to give me any intelligence respecting the Nile. Their accounts generally agreed with each other, but it appeared to me that they spoke from what they had heard, and not from personal knowledge. Its situation near the village of Geesh; the marshiness of the plain, the elevation of the spot whence it flows above the surrounding country, its circuit from Gojam, its course being distinguishable through the lake Dembea, were points familiar to them all; but they differed considerably as to the number of fountains from which it springs, some speaking of three, others of four, and one person of five; but this, they said, depended on the seasons; for if much rain fell, the accumulation of water would force open fresh passages. Hadjee Hamed had been

half way there when sent by the Iteghé to recover Mr. Bruce's lost property when he first attempted to visit the sources of the Nile; but he confessed that he had no curiosity to go on; and like all the others whom I had spoken to on the subject, appeared to attach some degree of mystery to Yagoub's anxiety, about what appeared to them all so uninteresting.

" Both Christians and Mussulmauns spoke in high terms of the magnificence of Gondar, and the splendour of the court when the King and Ras were together; but as the scale of their ideas was extremely different from our own, it was difficult to estimate rightly their assertions. From their flattering account of Adowa, I was completely deceived until I reached that place; and I should suspect, that a visit to Gondar would be productive of the same disappointment. The town has neither wall nor fortification. The principal building is the palace, to which are attached four churches, one at each corner. In the rest of the town it is said there are no less than forty-two. For the comparative splendour of these buildings they are indebted to the Portugueze, who erected them during the continuance of their power, and have left them as models for the artizans of the present time. The want of wood, and the difficulty of procuring stone, have rendered the little science which still glimmers in the country almost useless, for they are ignorant of the art of making brick. A few Greek artizans are generally to be found in the country, but they are little better than the native workmen. The roofing of the houses and the neatness of the thatching are most to be admired, but this is entirely done by the Falasha, or Jews.

" The Royal family are no longer confined to the mountains of Wechné, or Way-gne; this custom having been abolished some

years ago. They are now living dependent on the chiefs of the dif-different provinces.

" The charming Ozoro Esther is dead, but a daughter of her's is living at Gondar. Tecla Mariam, her companion, the beautiful daughter of the secretary of that name, Ayto Aylo, Ayto Confu, and most of the other friends of Mr. Bruce, are also no more; but the families of the two last are living at the capital in considerable splendour.

" The manufactures of Abyssinia are but of trifling importance. They have the cotton plant in many parts, particularly around Adowa; but they are unacquainted with the method of separating the cotton from the seed, and therefore import it from India, in a state fit for working up into their dresses. Coarse carpets are made in Samen, and at Gondar, from the wool and hair of the sheep and goats, which are dyed red, and light blue; the former from a tree called Haddie, the latter from a plant resembling Indigofera. They also procure a yellow dye from the Mocmoco, and a black from an earth: they have no dark blue.

" Knives are made at Adowa, spears and razors at Antalow; the iron they procure from Sennaar and Walkayt, a district about six days journey from Adowa, and also from Berbera, between which place and Gondar a considerable trade is carried on; the Abyssinians carrying with them ivory, slaves, and horses, and bringing back iron, cotton, and India goods: the latter make their way to Ras-el-Feel, where the kafila from Sennaar halts and makes its purchases. The profit the Abyssinians receive is supposed to be one hundred per cent. on these articles, which have before been loaded to at least an equal amount either at Mocha or Aden. Kafilas

travel between Darfur, Funge, and Gondar; but I was not able to obtain any accurate information of the different articles in which they trade.

"The revolutions in Abyssinia have been still more frequent since the departure of Mr. Bruce, whose history is in general accurate. The following short sketch may be found not uninteresting: it was received from Ligantur Metcha, a priest of some rank, having married Ozoro Brelhé, daughter of Sultan Hannes, and who was sent to me by the Ras, as being well acquainted with the recent changes in Abyssinia.

"Yasous the Second reigned twenty-five years, which agrees exactly with Bruce's account.

"Joas succeeded him, and reigned fourteen years. The character of this prince, the events of his reign, and his assassination by Ras Michael Suhul, as related by Bruce, were all confirmed by the testimony of my informant. To Joas succeeded Hannes, who after a reign of only five months died of disease, and not of poison, as stated by Bruce.

"Tecla Haimanout, son of Hannes, a remarkably fair and handsome man, succeeded to the throne. He was greatly attached to Ras Michael Suhul, who, during his reign, was often in a state of open hostility with Fasil of Gojam, whom he beat at the battle of Fagitta; a short time after which, as Ligantur Metcha remembered, Bruce came into the country. A powerful party was formed against Ras Michael, and Gusho was made Ras; upon which the old warrior retired to his province of Tigré, to the government of which Kefla Yasous never was considered as having a title. After reigning eight years, Tecla Haimanout was driven from his throne by Wordo

Wossan (Powussen), and soon after died in retirement at Waldubba, leaving one son, Welleta Solomon. It is singular that the dethronement of this king should have happened through Powussen, in exact conformity with the remarkable prediction recorded by Bruce in his account of the black eagle.

"Upon this vacancy, Ayto Solomon, in no way related to his predecessor, succeeded to the throne. This king was a son of Ayto Edayut, and was supported by the forces of Begemder and Gojam, headed by Powussen and Ras Ayto. The reign of this prince continued only two years, and upon his death Tecla Georgis, brother of Tecla Haimanout, was raised to the sovereign authority by Confu Adam and Ras Ayto, who then commanded the provinces of Gojam, Maitsha, the Agows, and Damot. In the second year of this reign died Ras Michael Suhul, at Adowa, in the eighty-eighth year of his age (A. D. 1780) and was succeeded in the government of Tigré by Welleta Gabriel, his son. Tecla Georgis having reigned only five years, was dethroned, and after wandering about the country for several years, at length retired to the mountain of Waldubba, where he still continues. To him succeeded Yasous the Third, who was raised to the supreme power by Ras Ayto. The new king died of the small-pox, after reigning four years, and was succeeded by Beda Marian, through the united interests of Ras Ayto and Degashie Welleta Gabriel, Governor of Tigré, the latter of whom soon after died at the age of thirty-two, being slain in battle by Ras Ally, of Begemder.

"After a reign of two years Yasous was dethroned by Ras Ally, Governor of Begemder, supported by the Edjow Galla; upon which he retired to Samen, and still lives there under the protection of

Ras Gabriel, governor of that province. His successor was Ayto Ischias, son of the last Sultan Yasous, who after having enjoyed the sovereignty for six years, was dethroned by Ras Merrid, son of Ayto of Gojam, and obliged to fly from his capital; but (since the accession of his son) he has returned, and is now alive at Gondar. Ras Welleta Selassé, in conjunction with Merrid, raised Ayto Solomon, son of Tecla Haimanout, to the throne; he was not, however, able long to hold the situation, though supported by Tigré, for after two years he was dethroned, and fled for protection to Ras Welleta Selassé, and is now living at Axum.

" The province of Begemder now gained the superiority, and Ras Iserat of that province placed Ayto Iunus on the throne; he had reigned however only three months, when Guxo, chief of the Edjow Galla, and son of Guanguê mentioned by Bruce, removed him, and placed Ayto Edimo, brother of Tecla Georgis, on the throne. Iunus fled to Lasta, and now lives under the protection of the governor of that province. Ayto Edimo lived but two years afterwards, and was succeeded by Ayto Gualoo, the present King, who likewise was set on the throne by Guxo, the latter having ever since maintained considerable power at Gondar.

" The preceding narrative is probably true, as it agrees with the circumstances of the country; and the period of the several reigns, taken together, exactly coincides with the time that has elapsed since the days of Joas the First.

" Welleta Gabriel commanded in Tigré eight years, after which Guebra Mascal was appointed by Tecla Georgis; but the latter had scarcely taken possession of his province, when he was attacked by Welleta Selassé, then commanding in Enderta, who seized his person,

and after keeping him some time in confinement, gave him a village, where he died a few months ago.

" Welleta Selassé has ever since commanded in Tigré, and was made Ras about seven years ago, at the accession of Ayto Edeneo, whom he was principally instrumental in raising to the throne.

" He has during his command in Tigré been engaged in several contests: an account of some of these I give, as extracted at Axum, from the chronicles of this period.

" Fourteen years ago the present Ras marched through the province of Tigré, which was in a state of rebellion, almost to the borders of Samhar: it was at the time of harvest, and he destroyed the whole country before him; he cut off the heads of all the chiefs in rebellion, and the inferior subjects he sold as slaves. After his return, he gave his niece in marriage to Fit Aurari Zogo, on which there were great rejoicings: he afterwards paid a visit to Axum, to make his peace with God, attended by a great assemblage of warriors. He then carried the war into the province of Sire, where a general alarm spread among the inhabitants; and not even the strongest holds were able to resist his power, for he carried destruction before him wherever he went; never was there such a hero known since the the time of Fogara Yasous.

" After this he crossed the Tacazza, went into Samen, made an alliance with Ras Gabriel, and staid three days feasting in his capital. Being joined by Ras Gabriel, he attacked the provinces of Walkayt, Gojam, and Begemder, then governed by Ras Ayto and Aguldon Welled Gabriel, brother of Ras Israel. He dispossessed the chiefs of their power, and obliged them to fly from their provinces: they sought assistance from Hamed, then Nayib of Massowah, who

refused it on the plea, that " he was as much afraid of the Ras as they were." On this they went to the Ras, humbled themselves with stones on their necks, and consented to pay any tribute that he might demand. The Ras restored them to their commands; they afterwards drank out of the same cup, and were as brothers.

" Tusfarten, Baharnegash of the country lying between the Nayib's and Tigré, terrified at what was passing, came in with immense tribute, which he had long before neglected to pay. From this time presents were interchanged between Ras Gabriel of Samen and Ras Welleta Selassé, which it would seem were always in favour of the latter, for the former soon grew tired of the intercourse, and sent to Welleta Selassé, acquainting him that he might as well be subject to him, as be obliged to make presents equal to an annual tribute. On this Welleta Selassé collected his forces, crossed the Tacazza, and marched against Gabriel, who had shut himself up in the strong hold of Amba-hai. There was but one pass known by which this hill was accessible ;, yet after a long siege the Ras overcame every difficulty, and got possession of the hill, which, to his great astonishment, he found deserted, Ras Gabriel having fled with all his people by a secret pass. The conqueror in his anger laid the whole place in ruins. Gabriel then sued for peace, and the Ras again put Amba-hai under his command, after having obliged the inhabitants to go over to Axum, and swear allegiance to his person. Before matters were settled, Gabriel had come towards Adowa with a stone on his neck, but was met on the road by Nebrida Aram, who brought him the good intelligence of the Ras's forgiveness. Presents of great value, consisting of a red tent, gold, muskets, &c. were made by Ras Gabriel on this occasion; and for some time

afterwards he never saw any of the Ras's people without treating them with great marks of respect and honour. These transactions happened in the year 1795; but the chiefs have been at war three times since. Every pacification, however, has been concluded in favour of Welleta Selassé, and they are at present on the best terms of friendship.

CHAPTER V.

MR. SALT'S NARRATIVE CONTINUED.

Departure from Antalow.—Arrival at Axum.—Greek Inscription—Observations on it, and the Inscription preserved by Cosmas Indicopleustes.—Departure from Axum.—Journey to Adowa.—Difficulties in arranging for the Journey to Massowah.—Visit to Gusmatie Ischias, Son of Ras Michael—Conversation with him respecting Bruce.—Other Communications on the same subject.—Account of the Serawé.—Arrival at Dixan.

CHAPTER VI.

"OCTOBER 10.—WE were much astonished at not hearing any thing of the mules or baggage till nearly eight o'clock, when at last Guebra Selassé came, and there began to be something like the appearance of preparation; many difficulties were however started about the quantity of the baggage, and the number of mules required, and it was twelve before every thing could be arranged satisfactorily.

"We then went to the Ras, and paid him our compliments for all his kind attention to us; when I took this last opportunity of again recommending Pearce to his protection, as his own guest, and our countryman. This he most feelingly promised. Our parting was an unpleasant moment to us all: the Ras, himself, was much affected, and could not speak at the time he took us by the hands.

"As our road lay over the ground which we had twice passed before, there remained nothing particular to be observed; the vegetation was getting brown, the corn fast ripening, and the soil was in part turned to a fine dust, which indicated approaching heat.

"We travelled only a short distance, and stopped at the village of Fiana, commanded by Ayto Guebra, who had been sent forward by the Ras from Antalow to prepare accommodations for us. We were soon overtaken by our guide, Guebra Selassé, who had the

charge of our cattle, which formed a considerable drove; the Ras having given us nine bullocks and ten sheep, that we might be secure of provisions on the road.

"October 11.—We were detained some time in the morning by the loss of one of our mules, which had strayed away in the night, and while waiting, we took for breakfast some bread, milk, and boiled mutton, the remainder of a sheep that was presented us by the master of the village on the evening before. After passing the brook at the bottom of the hill, we turned off to the left, out of the road by which we had before gone to Muccullah, and ascending a hill, we came into the plain of Jambela, by almost imperceptible descents, and halted by the side of a clear pool of water, under a momunna* tree, which, though scarcely in leaf, afforded a most excellent shelter. A little before us was the village of Debre, which we afterwards passed on the right, and about two miles beyond came to Neguida, where we were to rest for the night. In the course of the day we saw a profusion of the white jasmine in flower, the blossoms of which differed in the number of segments of the corolla, which varied from four to six. Though part of the corn was gathered, and the greater part of the remainder nearly ripe, yet there were but few of the inhabitants ploughing, or rather, as Captain Rudland said, disturbing the stones; for the ground was here at least in three parts out of four covered with them. Soon after our arrival we were joined by our baggage: the master of the house presented us with a bullock, and brought a small quantity of maize, and two hundred and fifty cakes of bread. Our party was at this time so large, that I was obliged to make a considerable addition to this

* A large species of Mimosa.

allowance to my attendants, for their immediate consumption. The bullock might indeed have been enough; but as the greater part of my bearers were Christians, they would not eat what the Mussulmauns killed, nor would the rest, who were Mussulmauns, eat what the Christians had killed, which often put me to great inconvenience in providing for them both. I had, in all, about thirty in number, besides my own party. The master of the house was named Ayto Rossie; his son was the handsomest and fairest man whom we had seen in the country; he married a daughter of Fit Aurari Yasous.

" October 12.—We left Neguida soon after sun rise, and passing through a country in great part covered with brushwood, came at length by a long though gradual descent, into a vale, through which runs the stream of Gibbé, on the banks of which we halted about a mile and a half below the Ras's deserted mansion. Our road then lay over a hill to the east of the narrow valley, which brought us in a direct line to the church of St. Michael, on the top of the hill where I before parted from Shelika Welleta Raphael. Here we found a copious spring of water flowing from the summit through a small aqueduct, constructed with little art by the inhabitants. This spot is on all sides surrounded with trees and shrubs, so as to form altogether a beautiful retreat. Hence we travelled partly over the old road to Atbara, a wretched village belonging to Basha Toclu Shum, of the district of Giralta. This chief had sent no orders from Antalow that we should be supplied with provision, we therefore got only two goats and one hundred loaves of bread, and were obliged to kill for our people one of our own bullocks.

" October 13.—We left the Basha's residence with much satis-

faction, being happy to quit so inhospitable a village. We passed over the same ground as before, and descended the pass of Atbara. We had just before observed to the right some ruined houses, or rather caves, dug out in the perpendicular side of a high projecting rock, near the bottom of the ascent: we saw a few monkeys of the same species as those brought about the streets of Mocha; and two Abba Gumbas, seated in state on the branch of a wide spreading tree.

"Vegetation seems to be remarkably quick in its progress here; for several trees, which were just blooming when we passed before, were now covered with seed nearly ripe. On entering the plain, we turned off immediately to the left, and proceeded almost a mile to the village of Maquarea, built partly on some huge masses of rock that have fallen from the mountains above, and partly under the ledges of the mountain itself. There are a few large Daroo trees immediately below, and a spring of water issuing from under one of them. The houses are all very small, and it appears upon the whole a wretched place, though built in a wild and romantic situation. It is in the district of Tembra, now under Barrambaras Tokla, who, it may be observed, is no relation to the Shum of Giralta.

"We obtained from this village two hundred cakes of bread and two goats. In the evening I received a message from Basha Abdallah, informing me of his arrival in the neighbourhood, and that he should be glad to proceed on with us to-morrow. I sent back a proper answer, and a present of a cow.

October 14.—We left the village of Maquarea at an early hour, by which our opportunities of shooting were greatly increased, as

the birds always retire to the trees for shelter soon after sunrise. Having passed through the valley of Gullibuddah, we arrived at the river, on the bank of which we had before halted. There we found Basha Abdallah, who received us with much attention, and provided us with some hot bread and maize. Afterwards we passed over a ridge of high ground into the district of Tsai, and turning a little to the left of our old path, proceeded to the mansion of Ayto Ischias, the chief of the district. To the east of this place, and about nine miles distant, is the strong hill of Amba Harimat. On this hill Deghaie Welleta Gabriel killed, a few years ago, with his own hand, Deghaie Welleta Raphael, grandson of Belletana Gueta Toclu, of Adowa, who had occupied it as an impregnable post. Here also Debib of Negashe, Deghaie Toclu, Shum of the district of Giralta, and Ayto Rossie, resisted all the power of Welleta Selassé, after he had subdued the rest of the province (seventeen years ago), so long and successfully, that he was compelled at last to grant them their own terms. To the north are the villages of Nebitot and Toorbo, given by the Ras to Gusmatie Guebra Michael, after he had driven him from his command of the province of Tigré. He is said to have died here, much regretted, about a year ago.

"The master of the mansion being absent, we received a cow from his lady, who in the course of the day sent a message to Captain Rudland, requesting his company.

"October 15.—We set out at an early hour, and passed over a wild country, thickly covered with brushwood, till, after descending a steep pass, we entered the plain where, in my former journey, we had seen the black eagle. We took some refreshment by the side of the brook, and then wandered about in search of birds, but

met with none that were new to us, excepting a kingfisher, or a bird much resembling it.

" Hence we turned off rather more to the west than we had formerly done, leaving Ounah Samuel on our right, as also the mansion of Basha Guebra Eyut, and proceeded to the valley of Damo, in which was situated the house of a son of Gusmatie Ischias, and grandson of Ras Michael, to whom we had already been introduced by the Ras at Antalow. We found the master of the place particularly agreeable, and willing to accommodate us in every respect; he spoke with pride of his grandfather, yet owned that he did not regard the lives of his subjects. He was accompanied by his cousin, the son of Deghaie Gabriel, whom I before saw at Adowa, who was now humbled at the farther end of the room; and, after we had taken our repast, was happy to make with his body a footstool for his cousin. Gusmatie Ischias's two wives were also present, one old, and the other young, fair, and handsome. Hamed Chamie declared, at first sight, that she would bring in Arabia one hundred and fifty dollars. There were other ladies present, particularly the young and beautiful wife of Nebrid Aram: they were all in high spirits, and by their agreeable conversation made the evening pass away very pleasantly.

" October 16.—We parted from our kind host at an early hour, and proceeded on our journey. It is remarkable that the Ras permits this chief's father to keep the title of Gusmatie, or Governor, of Tigré, of which all his family are not a little proud.

" The road this day brought us into our old path near the village of Occabessa, whence we again turned off westward over the mountain of Adowa; for it seldom if ever happens, as far as I have ob-

served, that the Abyssinians travel twice over the same road, each person following the path that appears to him most convenient; all being alike good, or rather, properly speaking, bad.

"On our arrival at Adowa, we found the house in which I had before slept so filled with fleas, that no person would venture to stay in it; in consequence, we were under the necessity of adjourning to one of the haunted apartments. Provisions were soon after sent us by Basha Abdallah, who himself paid us a visit in person; as also did several of the principal men of the place. The remainder of the day we passed in a jovial way, leaving all our business for the morrow.

"October 17.—We went at an early hour in the morning, according to promise, to visit Basha Abdalla, much against the wish of our guide, who did not approve, in the least, of any Arabic conversation. The Basha treated us with great attention, having a curry and maize in readiness for us; and we gained, during our visit, much interesting intelligence, there being present an old man, at that time in the service of Yannes, who went hence with Bruce to Gondar, and several other persons well acquainted with the transactions of the last thirty-five years. They agreed in telling us, that Bruce passed four months at Adowa; that he did not speak the language of Tigré, but afterwards made himself in part acquainted with the Amharic; that he was two years at Gondar, and visited the source of the Nile, and was robbed of his books and instruments; that two of the battles of Serbraxos were fought some time (two years) before he came into the country, and that a third engagement took place afterwards at the same spot, at which, however, Bruce was not present, as he never went out to war, and

at the particular time alluded to was actually at Gondar; that the king gave him a house, but no land, command, or employ, during his stay in the country; that he was a good horseman, and used to shoot from his saddle; that he had two interpreters, Michael, and Georgis, of whom one spoke Greek, and the other wrote Arabic; and that when he was at Adowa, he resided in the house of Yannes, who sent fifteen mules for him down to Dixan.

"I was also confirmed in a fact, that I had lately heard, but had hesitated to commit to paper, from a doubt of its truth:—After Ras Michael Suhul's disgrace at Gondar, Kefla Yasous was appointed to the province of Tigré, of which he took possession accordingly. Soon afterwards Ras Michael gained his liberty, marched directly into the province, where his party was still very strong, and with little resistance reinstated himself in his command. Kefla Yasous falling into his hands, he first made him pay five hundred wakeas of gold; and not satisfied with this, caused both his eyes to be plucked out, and his hands and feet to be cut off, and in this condition exposed him in the court yard of the house at Adowa to the sun by day, and the rain and cold by night; no one was permitted, on pain of death, to give him a mouthful of water: and yet in this horrible state he remained for a space of nearly two days before he died.

"Gusmatie Ischias was bold enough to object to this act of cruelty in his grandfather; and this protest has since, perhaps, been the means of saving himself and the residue of his family. It is said that the present Ras was appointed to the government, as a compensation for the death of his father.

"It is singular, that though we passed three months in the

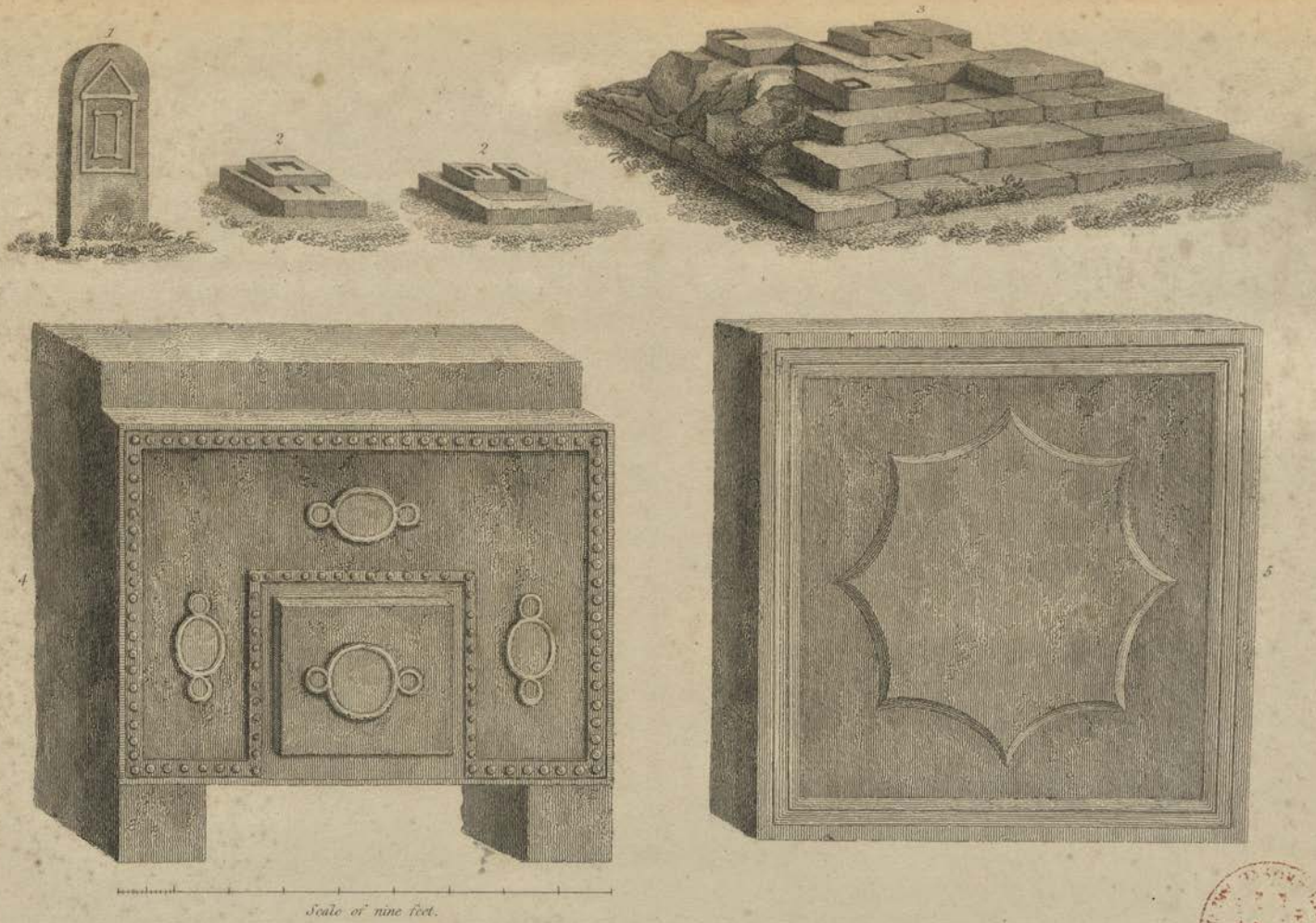
country, we never heard the subject hinted at before we last left Antalow by any person whatever; nor could we ever learn what had become of the Ras's father. After our return from the Basha's we had a visit from the Negeda Ras's, or head-men of the town, who brought us a sheep, curry, bread, maize, boosa, and a pumpkin.

"After leaving orders with Hamed Chamie to buy mules for us, and hire more for our baggage, &c. we determined to proceed to Axum on the morrow, which, however, I could not finally arrange without having a dispute with our guide. The evening passed very pleasantly, as we were at a place where we could procure, for money, whatever the country produced.

"October 18.—We left Adowa about eight o'clock, and proceeded to Axum by the same road that we had travelled on our former return thence; the path lies through the plain, and is much incommoded with stones, as are also the cultivated lands around, the inhabitants never troubling themselves, as I have before mentioned, about removing any such incumbrances. On our arrival opposite the eastern hill of Axum we dismounted from our mules, for the purpose of examining more closely into the nature of the stone composing this hill, and also the better to survey the ancient remains in its vicinity.

"After taking a view of the obelisk that is still standing, of which a drawing has been given, we proceeded again to the church, re-examined all the pedestals, the square inclosure, and the slab, on which we found no trace of an inscription, except the short Ethiopic one before mentioned; and we were all of us satisfied that there never had been any other. The stone of the slab is of the same grey granite as all the other remains. We were then conducted to the

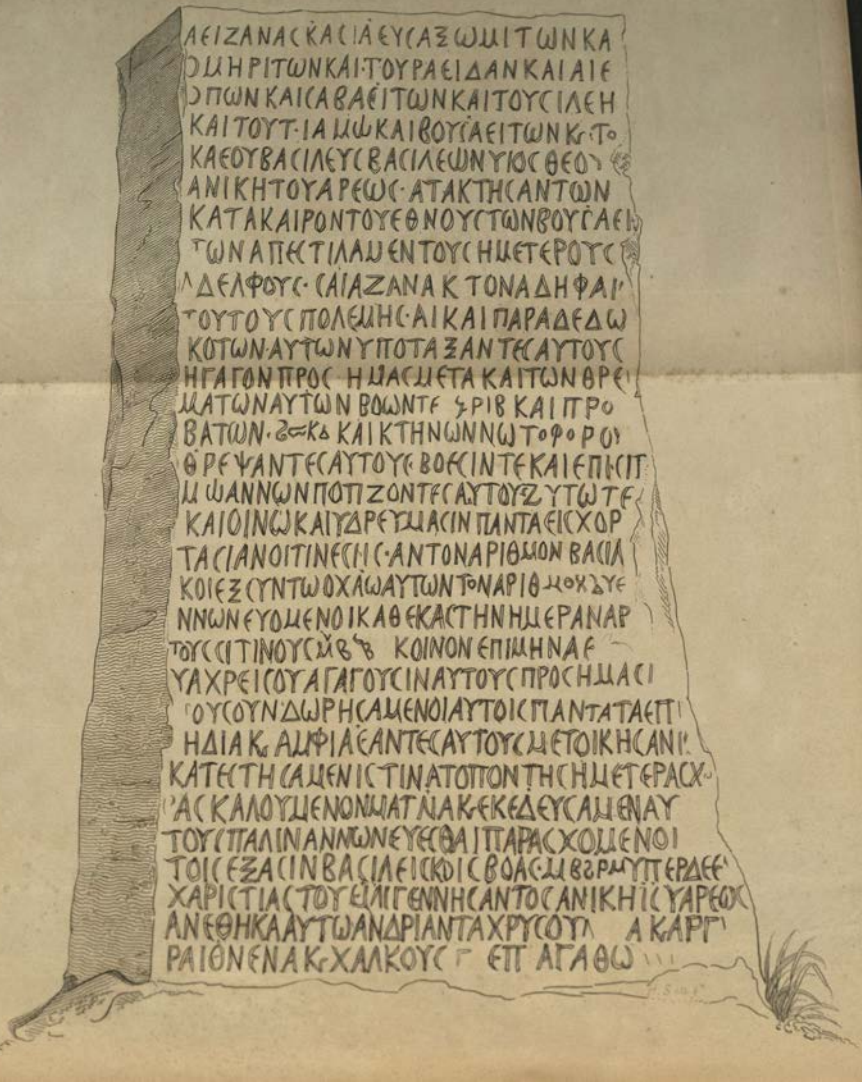
mansion in which we had before taken up our residence. I now made many enquiries after another stone with writing upon it, telling them that I was well informed there was a second, like the one which I had before copied. All the people present assured me that there was no other, except some boys, who said they would go and show me one. As I was determined to procure every possible information on the subject, I went out, accompanied by Captain Rudland, to a spot about three furlongs south-west of the obelisk: here we found large stones of granite regularly cut, piled two and two, and placed at regular distances (as in the plate of the ruins of Axum marked A), which evidently appear to have formed part of the foundation of some ancient edifice. About two hundred yards south of this, in an inclosure of one of the houses, we were shewn the entrance, as it appeared to me, of some subterraneous building, completely filled up; at least the upper stones are now on a level with the earth. These stones are very regularly laid (as may be seen in the drawing of them marked B, in the plate above referred to), and kept at exact intervals from each other by loose stones, at least so they appear externally; three hundred yards from these are others not so regularly laid (as C of the same plate); but on none of these did we meet with even the least appearance of any inscription, and were glad to return to our habitation, having kept fast hitherto during the day. I also made very strict enquiries among the priests on this subject, but wholly without success; all of them agreeing that they never heard of any other inscription than that which I had already copied. While our meal was preparing, we went down to the church-yard, where I took a sketch of all those pedestals and altars remaining which I had not before drawn, and corrected my former observations; in



Salt Esqr. Pinxt.

ANTIQUITIES FOUND AT AXUM.

1. A small Obelisk. 2. 2. Pedestals or Altars. 3. A large Altar near the square. 4. The Pedestal of a fallen Obelisk. 5. A detached stone in the Church yard.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ΧΑΡΙCΤΙΑCΤΟΥΕΙΛΙΓΕΝΝΗCΑΝΤΟCΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥΑΡΕΩC
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΑΑΥΤΩΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΑΧΡΥCΟΥΤΑ ΑΚΑΡΓ
ΡΑΙΘΕΝΑΚ·ΧΑΛΚΟΥC Γ ΕΠΤΑΓΑΘΩ

which, however, I was glad to find that I had little alteration to make.

"We again searched more accurately for Bruce's inscription; but nothing like it was to be found. After dinner we proceeded to the obelisks, measuring and examining all of them, beginning with the westernmost one. There are seven large ones, as we now discovered, all ornamented nearly in the same manner as the one now standing; the smallest is thirty-six feet long, but the dimensions of the largest considerably exceed the erect one. Behind these is another small fallen one, which has almost completely buried itself, on which a shield is sculptured. It was dark by the time we returned.

"October 19.—We proceeded at day break to the inscription, and examined it letter by letter, Captain Rudland having one of my copies in his hand, and Mr. Carter another, which they corrected as I read it over. We found at the bottom of the stone several more letters than we had at first been able to trace, but not an entire line; and it now appeared that we had the whole of the inscription.

"For the purpose of elucidating the contents of this inscription, a copy of it is given, etched by myself, in which I have endeavoured, as far as was practicable, to give the precise form of each of the letters, several of which, from the effects of time, were dubious. Many errors of course occurred; but these have proceeded almost entirely from the similarity of some of the Greek characters, used in the inscription, to each other, as alpha (A) and (Λ) lambda, epsilon (E) and (Σ) sigma, gamma (Γ) and rho (P), kappa (K) and beta (B), delta (Δ) and lambda (Λ), omicron (O) and (Θ) theta. All these difficulties I have been fortunate enough, by attention to the sub-

ject, and the assistance of several friends, to clear up; and at present, Dr. Vincent, who most kindly has given me every assistance in his power, considers the whole inscription, with the exception of one passage, as perfect.

" For the following copy of the inscription in modern Greek characters, together with the notes, I am indebted to Dr. Vincent.

1 Αειζαναϛ Βασιλευϛ Αξωμειτων και
2 Ομηριτων και τϛ Ραειδαν και Αιθι-
3 οπων και Σαβαειτων και τϛ Σιλεη
4 και τϛ Τιαμω και Βϛγαειτων και τϛ
5 Καεϛ Ϛασιλευϛ Ϛασιλεων υιοϛ Θεϛ
6 ανικητϛ Αρεως Ατακτησαντων
7 κατα καιρον τϛ εθνεϛ των Βϛραει-
8 των απεϛειλαμεν[1] τϛ ημετερους
9 αδελφϛ Σαιαζανα και τον Αδηφαν
10 τϛτϛ πολεμησαι και παραδεδω-
11 κοτων αυτων υποταξαντεϛ αυτϛ
12 ηγαγον προϛ ημαϛ, μετα και των θρεμ-
13 ματων αυτων βοωντε. * * * * και προ-
14 Ϛατων * * * * και κτηνων νωτοφορων
15 θρεψαντεϛ αυτϛ βοεσιντε[2] και επισιτ-
16 μω αννων·[3] ποτιζοντεϛ αυτϛ ζυτωτε[4]
17 και οινω και υδρευμασιν παντα[5] εις χορ-
18 τασιαν· οιτινεϛ ησαν τον αριθμον βασιλισ
19 κοι εξ συν τω οχλω αυτων τον αριθμον * * * *[6]
20 νωνευομενοι[7] καθ εκαστην ημεραν αρ-
21 τϛ σιτινϛ * * * * και οινον.† επι μηναϛ.

Where this mark * occurs the reader will refer to the original.

† This reading was suggested by the Dean of Litchfield.

22 Αχρεισ[8] ε αγαγεσιν αυτες προς ημας
23 τες[9] ουν δωρησαμενοι αυτοις παντα τα επ
24 ιτηδεα, και αμφιεσαντες μετοικησαν κ
25 κατεςησαμεν εις τινα τοπον της ημετερας χω-
26 ρας καλεμενον Ματμακ. εκελευσαμεν αυ-
27 τες παλιν αννωνευεσθαι παρασχομενοι
28 τοις εξ ασιν[10] βασιλειςκοις[11] * * * βοας * * υπερδε
29 ευχαριστιας τε εμε γεννησαντος ανικητε Αρεως
30 ανεθηκα αυτω ανδριαντα χρυσεν ενα και αργυ
31 ραιον ενα και χαλκες * επ' αγαθω.[12]

1 απεςιλομεν without the ε.

2 βοεσιντε to be Greek should be βεσιν.

3 Αννωνα is found in Meursius, but no verb from it; it seems here contracted.

4 ζυτωτε should be ζυθω, bouza.

5 παντα agrees with nothing; suppose we say παντα, the whole body, εις χορτασιαν, till they had abundance; χορτασια signifies a supply of all sorts of provisions, but constantly with the idea of superabundance.

6 These and the other numerals are inexplicable.

7 ννωνευομενοι; does νε in the preceding line belong to this word? I could almost think, that the engraver took the sound from the mouth of a Greek; if so, it might be read ευ αννωνευομενοι,* *supplying them well;* but I had below interpreted αννωνευεσθαι, passively; both probably are deponent.

8 Αχρεισε may be the name of a place, or of a month.

* ε is turned into δ in αμφιασαντες infra.

9 τας; the first letter is imperfect in the inscription; by the context ωκων, *wherefore*, would be the proper sense, but the sigma seems perfect. τας with αυτοις is redundant.

10 ασιν is the only word I cannot make out, and the only one in which I suspect the copy of the inscription.

11 I read this βασιλειτικοις, the diminutive, in contemptuous opposition to βασιλευς, βασιλεων. ει is by the ear for ι.

12 επ' αγαθω, for the success already obtained, and in hopes of future protection. Our vulgarism, *for good luck sake*, is, I believe, precise.

The following is as correct a translation of the inscription, as I have been able to make, with the assistance of Dr. Vincent and other friends.

(We) Aeizanas sovereign of the Axomites and
Homerites and Rhaeidan and the Æthi-
opians and Sabaeites and of Silee
and of Tiamo and the Bougaeitæ and To
Kaens king of kings son of God
the invincible Mars,—when the nation of the Bougaeitæ
upon a particular occasion were in a state of insurrection
(We) sent our brothers
Saiazana and Adéphas
to conduct the war against them, and upon
their surrender, [my brothers] after subduing them
brought them to me, with their children and with their
oxen to the number of . . . . . and their sheep
to the amount of . . and beasts bearing burthens on their backs

They maintained them with oxen
they supplied them with bread, they furnished
with beer and wine and water in abundance
The number of prisoners was six of royal rank
with the multitude that followed them to the amount of....
the whole had prepared for them every day of wheaten bread
and wine for a very month*
until the time that they brought the whole body to me
whom after supplying with all necessaries
and clothing, we compelled to
change their abode, and established them in my
own kingdom at a place called Mataia
here we ordered them to be again supplied
with bread, and furnished their six chiefs with .... oxen
In gratitude to him who begat me
I erected to him one statue of gold
and one of silver and three of brass, for good luck.

The commencement of the inscription completely baffled the researches of the Archbishop of Mount Sinai, and several other learned persons to whom it was shewn, till at length I was fortunate enough to meet in Ludolf (vide his Commentaries, pages 59 and 232) with the Greek names of an Abyssinian king, and his brother "Aizana et Sazanus" which at once cleared away the difficulty, and led me to the true reading, which undoubtedly ought to run thus: Αειξανα βασιλευς Αξωμιτων, &c. Aeizanas King of the

* Or they brought them to me in the month Achreisus; but such a month is not known. Vincent.

Axomites. It will be seen, that in copying from the stone, I mistook the ϵ for K, and the Λ for A.

This discovery gives a particular value to the inscription, as it fixes, within a few years, the period when this monument was erected; for Aizana was king of Abyssinia, or rather of the Axomites, in the reign of the Roman Emperor Constantius, and there is a letter still extant in St. Athanasius (vide St. Athan. Apol. pages 693-6, Paris 1627*) from that emperor to Aizana, at the time that he was reigning conjointly with his brother Saizana, who, it is to be observed in the ninth line of my inscription, is mentioned only as his brother and general. There is a slight variation in the spelling of both names, from that which is used by Athanasius, Aeizana being there Aizana, and Saiazana, Saizana; but this is so trifling, as to signify little, particularly as ε is found redundant in other places in my inscription, as in αχρειϛ for αχριϛ, and ϵαϲιλειϲκοιϛ for ϵαϲιλιϲκοιϛ. The letter of Constantius was written in the year of our Lord 356, and the purport of it was to disgrace Frumentius, who had been appointed Bishop of Axum, and those sent out by Athanasius in the year 327.

If it were established as a fact, that the king himself, as well as the people, had at this time been converted, it would fix the date of the Axum inscription to about the year 327; for it could not have been much before, because when Frumentius left Axum for the purpose of being appointed, the king, we have reason to think, was scarcely out of his minority; and it could not be after, as had the king been a Christian, he would not have been styled Son of Mars. But this circumstance of the king's conversion is by no means

* This letter is given in Appendix.

clearly made out; for though Baronius* says, that Aizana and Sazana were "tunc Christianos," he had no authority for the assertion, except the single circumstance of the emperor's having addressed them as such, which is no proof of the fact; and, certainly, the very existence of this inscription, leads to great doubt on the question, as it is scarcely possible that on the king's conversion he would have permitted such a monument to remain. Besides that, if the Adulitic inscription were allowed to be erected by this king in his twenty-seventh year, which it appears to me there is good reason to suppose, it would be at once decisive against it. Therefore, though I venture to fix 330 to be about the period, it is impossible, I think, to ascertain the precise date.

The word αξωμιτων is conformable to what we find these people were, with little variation, styled by Greek and Latin authors,† and it is curious, that in their ancient books they called themselves Axumians, which circumstance I had from the priests at Axum.

After the first line, the inscription proceeds to enumerate Aizana's titles, και των Ομηριτων,‡ and of the Homerites. This is the first actual information that we have of the Abyssinians having, at so early a period, conquered any part of Arabia (και του Ραειδαν),§ and of Raeidan. This was a district in Arabia, as appears from an obscure verse, extracted out of the poet Amriolkerius's works; it is quoted in a book called "Historia imperii vetutissimi Joctanidarum

* Vide Bar. Eccle. Annales ad annum 356, n. 23.

† Vide Nonnosus, Procopius, and the Periplûs.

‡ We have Ομηριτα in the Periplûs.

§ Another instance of ε redundant.

in Arabia felice (published 1786 at Harderwick) of which the following Latin translation is there given.

Et Hainaha cujus opes occiderunt
In Raidana, quum advenisset Occasus
Is potentem reddidit incolam, et viam emunivit
Ad Raidanam præcelsus gloria in accessus.

The Arabic word used is ريدان

Και Αιθιοπων και Σαβαειτων και Σιλεα.

And of the Æthiopians, and the Sabeans, and of Zeyla.

Σαβαειτων is a peculiar spelling, and is only to be found in the Periplûs, where Σαβαειτε occurs, which had been considered as a corrupt reading. Σιλεα, I have no doubt, is Zeyla, which is an ancient (as well as modern) Arabic name of a port on the Abyssinian coast, as appears in the Historia Joctanidarum before quoted, page. 141, "Ad eum ("regnum Jemanæ) transfretarunt Habassii e regionibus Natza et Zeilaa," (زيلع) que litorales sunt Habassiæ." This was about the fifth century. The same Zeila is in all modern charts.

Και του Τιαμω και Βεγαειτων

And of Tiámo; this I conceive to be the Tehama of Arabia; or, it may be the same place as the one mentioned by Cosmas in Tigré. The Bougaeites, I consider to be the Bogenses of Edrisi; I conceive the *g*, to have been pronounced soft like *j*; hence to be the same as the modern Beja tribe near Suakin. Τοκαε is the only name for which I have no conjecture to offer. The title of Βασιλευς Βασιλεων which follows, is most exactly conformable to Negus Negashi, or King of Kings, which the Abyssinians assume to this day.

"The υιος θεε ανικετε Αρεως, which winds up the title, in imitation of

the Greek Kings, is extremely curious, and, as well as the concluding dedication, will be hereafter referred to.

" Considering that this monument has been erected one thousand five hundred years, the circumstance of its being found in so very perfect a state, is somewhat remarkable; and it strongly proves the want of research and inattention among the Fathers who visited this country in the fifteenth century, or their extreme inaccuracy respecting matters of this nature, as the following account of it, given by Father Tellez, will sufficiently prove.* " Non procul abhinc erectum est saxum tribus cubitis latum, insculptum literis partim Græcis partim Latinis, sed temporis injuriâ ferè exesis. Hoc indicium est, omnes istas structuras esse artificum Europæorum à temporibus Justini, et aliorum Imperatorum Orientalium, qui (teste Procopio) magnam cum Regibus Æthiopiæ amicitiam coluerunt. Quamvis tunc temporis mixtura fuerit linguarum Græcæ et Latinæ, quia milites unius et alterius idiomatis in iisdem castris militabant." " Verùm imaginari mihi non possum mixtam scripturam in illis saxis reperiri, multo minus rationem istius rei valere puto. Oculatiores inspectores (aut nimium fallor) aliquando reperient scripturam merè Græcam, atque in ea literas A. B. E. Z. I. K. M. N. O. P. C. T. X. quas Latini cum Græcis communes habent, quamvis non in omnibus æqualis sint pronunciationis;" so that by this it appears, that they must either have been totally ignorant of its contents, or they must have purposely perverted the sense, in consequence of its interfering so decidedly with their account of the history of the country, since, by this monument, all claim of the Abyssinian monarchs to a descent from Solomon, and the conversion of the

* Ludolf, p. 251.

Abyssinians to Judaism, is taken away, as it was not likely a monarch so descended, would style himself Son of the God, the invincible Mars, or erect statues to him on the high road so near to the capital.

" Tellez's assertion, which is referred to Ptolemy, I conceive to have been taken from some knowledge of the Adulitic inscription, and a wish to confirm it.

" The same reason seems to have induced Bruce to invent his inscription at Axum, which, however, he executed in so unsatisfactory a way, as led Dr. Vincent * to remark, even before any one after Bruce had visited Axum, " how much more authentic would a fac simile of the inscription have been, than the restoration! in which, by an error of the author, or the press, EVERΓETOY is read for EYERΓETOY."

" The subject of the inscription itself is not very interesting, as it is merely a record of a successful expedition against a tribe called the Bougaeites, whom I suppose, as I have said before, to be the Bogenses of Edrisi, in whose country were the mountains of Alahahi, famous for their gold-mines. Dr. Vincent (from the letter Γ being dubious in the fourth line of the copy), conjectures them to be the inhabitants of Buré, which opinion I had also entertained, until I met with the account of the Bogenses above referred to. Still, though the general tenor of the subject is not so interesting as might have been expected, yet there are several very curious particulars interspersed in this record; such as the hospitality with which the King treated the enemies whom he had subdued, and the attention which he paid in providing them with meat, bread,

* Second vol. p. 112.

wine, and beer; which is in exact conformity to the mode of treating strangers, so long kept up and still practised in the country, as may be seen in every page of Poncet's journal, as well as my own. But the parts which are most valuable in this inscription, are the beginning and the end, which establish the fact of Axum having been the capital of a people called the Axomites; and gives great credibility to numerous accounts handed down by several authors of that people, and of different embassies sent to them by the Romans; all of which had before been very dubious, from the want of any known fact or monument existing in Abyssinia in confirmation.

" It proves the existence of a king called Aeizana, King of the Axomites, who had a brother called Saiazana; which in the most decided way, establishes the authenticity of a letter addressed by the Emperor Constantius to these brothers, under the title of Τυραννιδες Αξόμιτων.* Now, on this letter, the fact of the introduction of Christianity at that period into Abyssinia in a great measure rests. It farther establishes, that the empire of Abyssinia was even at this early period very powerful, and that their king had already, at least, assumed the sovereignty over a great part of Arabia, which makes the duration of their power in that country, and consequently in the Red Sea, much longer than had ever been before suspected.

" By being found so far in the interior, we may deduce from it, that the Greek language had become very familiar in the country; and herein it confirms the account given in the Periplûs of the learning of Zoskales. This inscription contains, moreover, the first

* Ludolf, p. 125.

intimation which we have of the Abyssinians having adopted the Gods of Greece, and as I have before partly stated, sets aside the descent from the Queen of Saba, and the conversion of the nation to Judaism, as also up to the period of its erection, the authenticity of those chronicles, called the Chronicles of Axum, so far at least as they refer to the religion of the country.

" The knowledge of this inscription, also throws a new light on another, equally curious and important, which according to the account of Cosmas Indicopleustes, was found by him at Adulis, and has greatly excited the attention of many learned men, and particularly of Dr. Vincent, who has written a treatise on the subject. It is not without great hesitation, that I venture to differ from so learned and able a writer, but I feel it a duty to submit to the public, the ideas which have arisen in my mind, from a mature consideration of the inscription discovered by me, and from my local knowledge of the places mentioned.

" Cosmas lived during the reign of the Emperor Justin, and as a trader visited Adulis; during his stay, he undertook to decipher an inscription existing there in Greek characters, in compliance with the wishes of Elesbaas (or Caleb Negus), King of Abyssinia, who was then on the point of undertaking an expedition into Arabia, and who had probably been told at Axum, that the contents referred to conquests made by one of his predecessors. One part of this inscription was cut out on a basanite tablet, which, after enumerating the titles of Ptolemy, (Euérgetes), proceeds to give an account of his victories in Asia; and the other part was engraved on a chair of white marble, containing a long account of victories in Abyssinia, connected, as Cosmas supposes, with the first, though

he does not even positively assert it, simply saying ὡς ἐξ ἀκολυθίας καὶ εἰς τὸν δίφρον ἐγέγραπτο οὕτως.

The general objections which are to be made to this inscription merely relate to it when regarded as a whole, in which light alone it has hitherto been considered; first, that Ptolemy Euergetes actually reigned only twenty-five* years, though in the latter part of the inscription on the chair it is said to have been erected by a king in the twenty-seventh year of his reign; secondly, that the first part, or the part on the tablet, is written in the third person throughout; and that the second part (on the chair) is written entirely in the first person; thirdly, that the language is also extremely dissimilar in the second parts, different words being employed to express the same meaning, as, where στρατεύμα and στράτεύματα are used on the basanite, δυνάμεις and δυνάμεων are made use of on the chair; where χωρας is in one εθνος is invariably in the other, and where κυριευσας is in the first υπεταξα is found in the second. Fourthly, that in the first, Ptolemy styles himself son of Ptolemy, descended from Hercules on his father's side, and Dionysus (Bacchus), sons of Jupiter, on his mother's, while, in the second, he styles himself son of Mars. Fifthly, that Agatharcides, Strabo, Pliny, nay, all writers between the time of Ptolemy and the Emperor Justin, make no mention of any such conquests of Ptolemy in Abyssinia, or the Red Sea; yet, it is impossible to suppose that Agatharcides, who gives an account of that very coast, should have been in total ignorance of Adulis; (a place that must have been so well known, had that part of the inscription referred to Ptolemy), and that he who collected his information from the libraries of the Ptolemies only fifty years afterwards,

* Vide Playfair's Chronology.

should have been unacquainted with events of such great importance, and about which he was collecting information for the instruction of a prince descended from Ptolemy himself.

"To these objections may be added, that, in summing up the victories at the end of the second part, there is not the slightest allusion to those mentioned in the first; for on the basanite are recited conquests in Syria, Bactria, Persia, &c.; whereas on the chair, the extent of the conquests is carried no farther eastward than the coast of the Red Sea.

"Though some of these objections have been before started, they have none of them hitherto been satisfactorily answered; and against the inscription, as a whole, they appear to me absolutely unanswerable. There is a way, however, in which these difficulties may all be solved; and that is, by considering the two parts as distinct inscriptions; for all these obscurities attached to them, it must be observed, proceed solely from their having been taken as one inscription; for which, too, there is no other authority than the single circumstance of their having been found near to each other; for, as to the supposition of Cosmas, it is easily accounted for, from the great difficulty he must have had in fixing upon any person to whom to attribute the second part; besides, that Cosmas (as must appear to any one who looks into his work), was a weak, simple, and credulous man, whose assertion, even if he had said so, would have had no weight whatsoever. Farther, it is to be particularly noted, that the tablet, on which is found the first inscription, is not only unconnected in every way with the chair, but the chair is never once mentioned on the tablet, nor the tablet referred to on the chair. The shape, too, of the tablet is so different, that it could

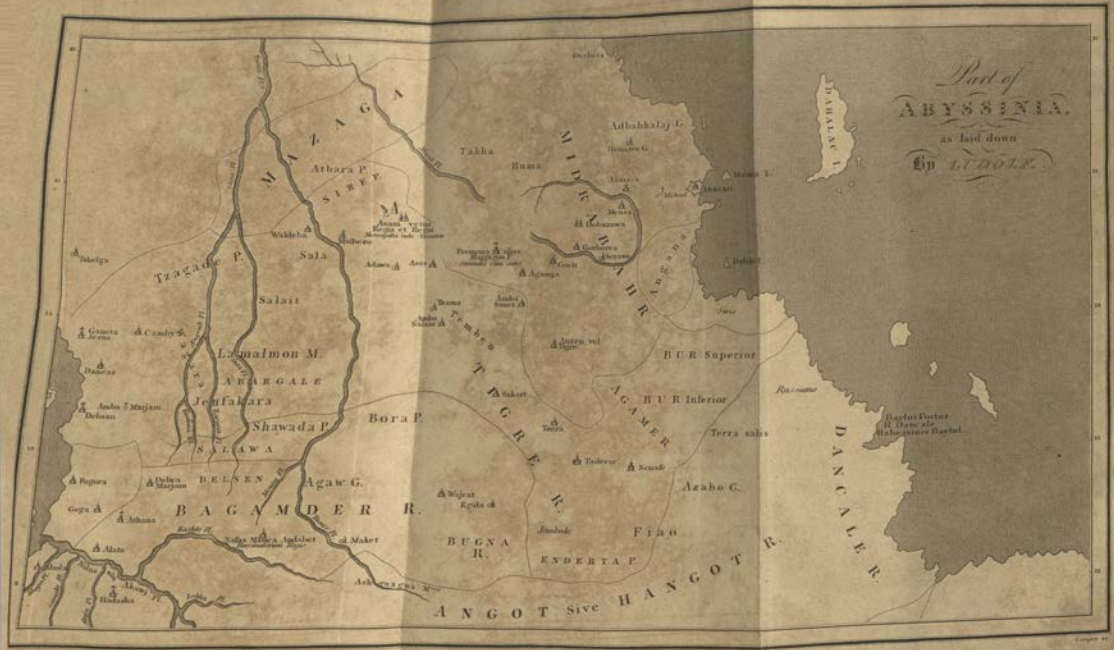
never have been meant to form a part of the chair; and they were apparently the workmanship of different periods; the pillars, constituting a part of the chair, being evidently of the lower Roman empire. These reasons, added to what has been before mentioned, of their being composed of different materials, are quite sufficient, I think, to prove beyond all doubt, that they were two distinct inscriptions. I shall therefore call the one on the basanite the first, and the other on the chair, the second Adulite inscription.

"I consider the first to be a record inscription of the victories of Ptolemy in Asia, confirming accounts alluded to by several authors; but, being in the third person, I conceive it may have been brought to Adulis, in conformity with the King's orders, by some of the trading vessels, without Ptolemy having ever visited the coast himself; or it may have been engraved and brought there at a subsequent period. As to the second inscription, I consider it to have been erected by an Abyssinian king, to commemorate the victories of a long reign; and my principal reasons for this are as follow:

"First, its extraordinary conformity with the inscription which I found at Axum; both are in the first person; both speak in the same lofty tone of trifling exploits, and make use of the same peculiar words in expressing the King's gratitude ευχαριζαι; a word not common before the time of the Christian era, and in both the same words are also made use of, as υποταξα, επολεμησα, εθνη, &c. in contradistinction to the basanite inscription, in which, as before observed, other words are generally employed. Secondly, the names used are Abyssinian, and some of them identically the same; and they are so little altered in turning them into Greek, as to be easily traced;

which would scarcely have been the case under a Ptolemy. Thirdly, the language is bad in both, the singular person being repeatedly made to agree with a plural verb; and masculine and feminine nouns are used for the same thing, as τϐ βασιλειϐ, and της βασιλειας, which is not very Ptolemaic. Fourthly, the writer of the inscription on the chair styles himself in the conclusion, as Aizana does in the Axum inscription, son of Mars; the one dedicating a statue "in honour of the invincible Mars, who begot me:" τϐ εμε γεννεσαντος ανικητϐ Αρεως; and the other dedicating a chair in honour of Mars, Αρεως ος με και ἐγεννησε, a conformity that is extremely remarkable. Fifthly, that the whole account can be traced with facility, as relating to an Abyssinian king, which is by no means the case, nay, is attended with insuperable difficulties, if considered as referring to Ptolemy.

"Before I enter on the following statement, I must make one preliminary observation, that the very omission of Axum in the inscription is strongly in my favour, since a king of Abyssinia would be likely enough to omit all mention of his capital, as is the case in the Axum inscription; whereas if Ptolemy had been there, which he must have been to make the conquests described, he would not have failed to record something concerning it, as it would have been the most important part of his victory. But, it may be objected, that Axum was not then in existence, and that it may have been built by Ptolemy! Still more extraordinary would it appear that such thing should be here recorded, and that no knowledge of such a circumstance should have ever reached Egypt, or be known to Agatharcides, Strabo, or Pliny. Taking the inscription, therefore, before me, as it stands in Fabricius and Montfaucon, and considering



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the exploits recorded as the conquests of a King of Abyssinia who set out from Axum, I proceed to show how the whole may be traced on the accompanying map corrected from Ludolf, supposing that these conquests were made at different times, for which a reign of twenty-seven years would have given ample time.

" The first place taken is Gaza, which we find under the name of Adegada, or Gaza; (Ade simply meaning a town or district,) a place of great consequence lying in the way to Adulis, where the trade was even then, in all probability, carried on, and was afterwards one of the strong places of defence held by the Jesuits. The next place conquered is Agame, which was formerly a very large district, and is even now of considerable importance, forming one of the principal districts under the viceroy of Tigré. Returning hence, on account perhaps of some insurrections near home, he reduces the province of Sigue or Siré (as Dr. Vincent says). He next proceeds upon a southern expedition, conquers Awa or AVA, which is Ade-Awa, or Adawi, a considerable district bordering on Axum; thence direct to Tziama, or Tzama, which is in Ludolf's map; and thence to Gambela, or Jambela, a rich and fine district in the province of Enderta, of which Muccullah, its principal town, was once the capital. After these he subdued Zingabene and Angabe, or the province of Bugné, inhabited by blacks (or Galla), and Angabet, or Andabet in Begemder. Unable to penetrate farther, he returns by the river Tacazza, and conquers Tlama or Tmas (unknown), and Ath-Agaws, or the Agaws; Lasta, or Lasine, being left untouched, whose strength might have offered an opposition too powerful to be overcome.

" Another season finds him undertaking a more extensive con-

quest, and one better planned; two armies (we will suppose) are marched, one to take possession of Laeta, and to follow up his last year's conquests, and the other across the Tacazza, or Mill. He there subdues Halaat or Salait, Sembre or Samen; then proceeding down the Tacazza, conquers Shawa, or Zaa, Gabala, or Aba Gale, Atalmo, or Lamalmo, and then falls in with the other army, after its conquest of Lasta; and they together subdue the whole kingdom of Bega, or Bega Midra,* Midra being only terra, or regio, a district, as in Midra Bahre, Regio Maris, as in Ludolf's map. The south being now quiet, a fourth expedition is planned to the north, of which our account is very short, perhaps from the greater part of this country being previously in their possession; for it is to be remarked, that it was from this point that their power in Africa† arose; the Tangaite on the borders of Egypt are subdued; and here we meet with this remarkable expression, which could never have been used by an Egyptian monarch, "and then I made them open a foot road from the places of my dominion into Egypt." απο των της εμης βασιλειας τοπων μεχρις Αιγυπτε; a road, which was kept up until the time of Justinian, in 506, as we learn from Procopius, who says, Ab Auxomide ad Elephantidem urbem Romani imperii limitaneam in Egypto, tantum est viæ quantum diebus triginta vir expeditus conficiat. After this he turns again to the south-east (would Ptolemy have done so, would he not rather have gone on to Egypt?), conquers the Aletine and Annine, or wild tribes on the mountains, and subdues the Sesea or Shiho (as I suspect), the Rauso (or modern Rusamo perhaps), a nation of the Frankincense country, and afterwards the Solaute, or shepherd tribes, to whom he gave the

* Vide Ludolf, p. 123. † Vincent, p. 99.

care of the sea coast, of which (if they are, as I think, the Somaulé) they have ever since been in possession. After these an expedition is undertaken against Arabia: and it is here that we find the origin of that power which the Abyssinian kings afterwards so long possessed over a great part of that country. For this purpose a land and sea army were prepared, precisely as was done afterwards by Elesbaas.* Now it is to be here remarked, that it was not likely that Ptolemy should attack Arabia from Adulis, neither would his army, after the conquest of Arabia, have returned to Adulis, when it could so much better have gone directly to Egypt. Having now returned from Arabia, what can be more completely convincing than what follows? Having thus (by my generals) conquered all the nations surrounding my territory, "παντα τα εθνα τα ομορουντα τη εμηγη," from the east so far as the frankincense country, from Ethiopia on the west to Sasus [nearly opposite Aden, which can only apply to a king of Abyssinia], having settled all this my world at peace, I descended to Adulis, [mark, descended; whence? from Axum, than which nothing can be more probable after the return of his army from Arabia; but how could this be said by Ptolemy?] to sacrifice to Jupiter, Mars, and Neptune, for those that navigate [not Bacchus or Hercules, whom Ptolemy would surely have mentioned], and having collected here all my forces, I consecrated this chair to my father Mars in the twenty-seventh year of my reign." The conformity of this last with my inscription; the extraordinary circumstance of their both taking Mars for their father, is to me perfectly convincing, not only that this was erected by an Abyssinian Prince, but that the date of the period when it

* Vide Baronius.

was erected was at no great distance from the time of the Axum inscription, and that it was perhaps erected by the same king; for it is a most remarkable fact, that Aeizanas reigned just twenty-seven years, according to Bruce's history.

" It is extremely to be regretted, that we have not the beginning of this inscription; but it is not surprizing that it should be obliterated in the course of three hundred or four hundred years, which period we may fairly compute between the time of its erection, and the age of Cosmas; or even if it remained, it may have confounded our decipherers, who were far from being learned, or it may have stood in the way of their opinion that the whole referred to Ptolemy. May it not have been passed over, or, (but that Cosmas's character appears too plain and honest to have committed such an act), suppressed, for the purpose of attributing to one of his own sovereigns the honour of having conquered this remote country? for it is to be remembered, that Cosmas was a Greek (a nation whose veracity is not to be relied on), and of course more interested about a Ptolemy than about a king of Abyssinia. Sufficient for Ptolemy be the credit which is given to him in the first part, and which, by these conjectures, if admitted, is divested of all the difficulties that hitherto have attended it; cleared of all obscurity, it will then stand a most valuable document authenticating what had been before recorded; while the latter part confirms, and accounts for the great power of the Abyssinians in Arabia, and their consequence in the general scale of politics for several centuries, which, from the present very low state of that nation, has hitherto appeared somewhat doubtful; though it be asserted by several cotemporary writers, as Procopius, Nonnosus, &c. and confirmed by many of

the Byzantine historians. At all events, I think it is clearly demonstrated that there were two inscriptions. The second point does not admit of equal proof, but the evidence I have adduced is, I trust, sufficient to render it an object worthy the consideration of those better qualified than I am to decide upon the question.

" We returned to breakfast, and then set out on our way, determining once more to visit Calam Negus, which I conceive to be the catacombs belonging to the ancient city. We took lights with us, and went down into both the excavations. I have nothing, however, to add concerning them. Hence we travelled straight to Adowa by the old road.

" I received a message in the evening from the Ras, by a soldier in his service, enquiring after our health, &c. This man declared that the Ras expected five mules back; but this being contrary to what the Ras himself told me, I sent to Basha Abdallah, to declare, that if such were the case, I should not accept one from him, as I preferred to walk, rather than be thus imposed upon.

" October 20.—We were engaged during day in making preparations for our journey. In the morning Basha Abdallah paid us a visit, and brought us four mules that were offered for sale, from which I chose two. Thirty dollars was the sum at first demanded; but I bought them for twenty each, to be paid at Massowah. We also engaged forty bearers for two dollars per man, to be paid at the same place. In this Basha Abdallah much assisted us; but no money was to be procured; a circumstance which, I had reason to fear, would subject us to most serious inconvenience before we could reach Massowah. It was settled this morning on my strong remonstrances, that only four mules should be returned to the Ras, accom-

panied with a letter from me, explaining to the Ras my sentiments on the subject, stating that I was willing, if it were his wish, to send all the mules back, except the one given me by Baharnegash Yasous. The letter was written and ready to be dispatched, when I was informed that, unless I made a present to the messenger (who was a brother of our guide's), he would not take it, but would go back with five mules. Being much incensed at this attempt to impose on me, I tore the letter in pieces, and desired all the Ras's servants to depart, and take the whole of his mules with them, declaring, that if five mules went, not one of the servants should stay with me. Before night they came to make their peace, expressed their sorrow for what had passed, and requested that another letter might be written. I referred them to Hamed Chamie, saying, that I should not trouble him to write another, unless they could prevail on him from themselves to do so.

" October 21.—Guebra Selassé brought me another letter written by Hamed Chamie, which was dispatched. I was engaged the whole of the day in making out a fair copy of the inscription at Axum, and in conversing with some of the inhabitants, and Captain Rudland was employed in writing the journal. Mr. Carter lost his Habesh cloth this morning, it being stolen, while he was a few minutes absent, from the place where he had slept.

" October 22.—This being the day appointed for our departure, we were all in readiness at an early hour, but had to wait a considerable time for Basha Abdallah, who had promised to pay us a visit before our departure. He came about eight o'clock, and proved a most welcome visitor, bringing us a packet from Lord Valentia, dated Mocha, 20th of August, which had found its way from Aith

through Buré, and by way of Antalow; it was accompanied by a note from Pearce, giving us a very satisfactory account of his present situation. We were at this time so situated, that it was not in my power to have any further communication with the Ras, on the principal subjects of his Lordship's letter; all that I could do, therefore, was to write to Pearce, desiring that the man who was waiting at Antalow, might be sent back immediately to Aith, with intelligence (should the ship be waiting there) of our being far advanced on our way to Massowah. I had afterwards some conversation with Basha Abdallah concerning the Nayib and Currum Chund, and he was, I believe, as well convinced of their rascality as myself. He told me that, in consequence of this, the Baharnegash had orders to provide us with a guard, and to see us safely to Massowah. An additional mule was brought us, which completed the number wanted; it's price was the same as that of the others. A new difficulty, which I had expected, now arose; all our Christian bearers refused to stir, till they had received part of their pay; a demand which, though by no means unreasonable, I was under the necessity of refusing, as our remaining stock of cash was too small to allow me to part with any, not having above five and twenty dollars left; no money being procurable here at any rate, for I had offered twenty per cent. for it in the morning, but in vain. The mules being ready, I pointed out to Hamed Chamie the most valuable part of our baggage, that it might be conveyed by the Mussulmauns, who remained faithful to us, and left orders with him to stay here till evening, to endeavour to procure carriers for the remainder, and if not, to join us at the first stage. Having thus finally arranged every thing by eleven o'clock, we quitted Adowa, after taking leave of our friend Basha

Abdallah, whose ability and integrity had much attached us to him, and whose kindness had rendered us all his debtors. We directed our course to the north of Abba Garima, over a moderately high range of hills, and afterwards along a beautiful valley, through which a stream of fine water runs, which the inhabitants had carefully led off, in the Indian method, into the corn fields. We then ascended a steep hill on the right to the village of Mumsai, commanded by Ayto Guebra Amlac, expecting the arrival of our attendants, but in vain; and, consequently, we were obliged to be satisfied with such fare as we could pick up, beans, Indian corn, and a wild fowl. I shot this day a black and white hawk, with a red dusky tail, the eye large, and of a dark brown colour. This bird is remarkable for the height to which it soars. We passed on the road in the course of our day's march, Ozoro Tishai and her attendants, on their way to pay a visit to Ayto Ischias. This lady sent me a small quantity of maize in the evening.

"October 23.—We waited with some impatience for the remainder of our baggage, which did not come up till mid-day, during which we amused ourselves with shooting small birds to add to our collection. The Hillets chiefly abound in this valley, flying about among the loose grass and rushes; they are very often seen in pursuit of some small birds much resembling the reed sparrow; yet they are ill calculated for swiftness of flight, as their tails appear to be too heavy for their bodies; they are small birds with remarkably long fan tails, of which there are four or five species or varieties; one is black; another is black with bright spots of red on the pinion of the wing; another with bright yellow spots; and a fourth is spotted black and white. We killed three this morning,

and we had procured two before. In the most perfect specimens we found twelve feathers in the tail, in pairs of unequal length. I discovered some of their nests, built in the rushes; they are very small, and covered over, as appears to be the case with almost all birds nests in this country. The Derhomais are also numerous here; they are fond of roosting among the steady branches of trees, and make a hoarse croaking noise much like the raven.

" We found, on Hamed Chamie's arrival, that our leaving Adowa had been of great service in forwarding our baggage; as immediately afterwards, Guebra Selassé, and the Basha, by promises, threats, and blows, soon compelled the Christians who had engaged themselves in our service to bring on every thing belonging to us. We stayed at Mumsai till about three o'clock, when the master of the house came, and made us a present of a bullock and two goats, with a view, no doubt, to get rid of us, for we were advised by our guide to set off immediately after for another village. Our road lay up the valley of Mumsai, which is every where in a good state of cultivation, part being laid out in gardens, chiefly, as it appears, for the cultivation of the capsicum. This is no doubt the stream and vale of Ribierani of Bruce, but neither the name, nor anecdote connected with it, is any longer known to the inhabitants in the neighbourhood. At the upper end of the valley we ascended a steep and rocky hill, leaving the mountain of Samayut, the refuge of Ras Michael, when in arms against his sovereign Yasous, on our right. Our guide now took us to a village on a high hill to the left, called Asshashen. The villagers here were not much pleased with our arrival, and soon after came in a body, armed with sticks, shields, and spears, as it appeared, to drive us away;

one more impudent than the rest, came close to me, as we were sitting on a couch in front of one of the houses, and shook his weapon at me. I did not choose to bear this, and therefore drew my hanger, and declared that I would cut him down if he came a step nearer. On this a general disturbance took place; all our people seized their arms; while, on the other side, the men stood threatening us, and the women on the tops of the houses were ready with stones in their hands to assault us. Abyssinians generally talk more than they act, so that the whole ended on their side, in a violent wrangling, squabbling, and noise. As soon as it was over I left the place, and went down into the valley, where we spread our tent on the ground, for the purpose of taking up our abode for the night; but soon after, a deputation of the head men came down, making many apologies for what had passed, promising to supply whatever we might want, and to put the offender in irons, and to send him to the Ras. In order to accommodate our people, I consented to return to the village, where we occupied a house belonging to the elder Gusmatie Ischias, who holds the command of the district. As our guide wished to stay here another day, to settle concerning the punishment of the man who had insulted us, I ordered a couple of bullocks to be killed, one for the Christians, the other for the Mussulmauns, and to be cut up in strips for our subsistence on the road. A trick of our guide's at this village may serve to give some idea of his cunning. Soon after our arrival here, my English bridle was missing, upon which our guide made a prodigious outcry, threatening, in severe terms, the anger of the Ras; and by these means extorted from the head men of the village an additional bullock, two sheep, and several other articles, of which our

people were in want; and then drew forth the bridle from a corner of the room where he had himself hidden it, and laughed to their faces at the dexterity with which he had outwitted them.

" October 24.—I took a view this morning of the mountains of Samayut and Assor, from the top of one of the houses of the village. The head men of the village presented us with a cow and a sheep, and about three in the afternoon we received a message from Ozoro Tishai, at the village of Gunduftch, requesting our company in the evening. This message was accompanied with a horn full of maize, and a small quantity of green wheat for parching.

" It was accordingly arranged, that Hamed Chamie and the Mussulmauns with our baggage, should go forward to another village, while we ourselves proceeded about sunset to Gunduftch. This village is situated on the north-east side of a small, beautiful, and fertile valley, divided only by a moderately sized hill from the plain of Samayut. It is built on the first ascent of a steep mountain, the summit of which is terminated by pyramidal masses of bare rock. It is interspersed with cedars and wanzah trees, and makes a very picturesque appearance from the valley below.

" We were received with much attention by the chief, Gusmatie Ischias (a son of Ras Michael by Ozoro Galadait) who is much advanced in years, as also by Ozoro Tishai, who was there on a visit. We spent the evening in the true Gondar style, the conversation being extremely free. After drinking each a glass of arrack, the maize was handed briskly about; something like a supper was in the mean time introduced, consisting of one fowl curry, with which the ladies crammed themselves so speedily as to leave our party only a few bones, some half, and some entirely, picked; which, with some

duck balls (as one of our attendants aptly termed them) made up of coarse flour, ghee, and hot water, and a quantity of sour teff cakes, of which there is generally a profusion, constituted the whole of the supper. Beans and green wheat were afterwards introduced, which we begged leave to make over to our mules. In the early part of the evening I managed to get a few questions concerning Bruce, answered by the old gentleman, who said that he was well acquainted with Gondar. He stated that Bruce was a great favourite with the King, who gave him an excellent house to live in, and provided him with food, but that he never gave him any land, nor command; that he was much with the Iteghé and Ozoro Esther, and but little with the Ras; that he never went out to war during his stay in the country, but kept much in the house, and was very curious after plants, stones, &c.: he added, that at that time he himself commanded Ras-el-Feel, and that he was at the hunting-match at Teherkin, at the time Bruce was there on his way to Sennaar.

" I had every reason to be convinced of the authenticity of this relation, from its agreement with the accounts which had been given me, by the many persons to whom, at different times, and in different places, I had applied for information respecting Bruce.

" Hadjee Hamed, the person I have before mentioned as being sent by the Ras to see us safely to Antalow, a man of about fifty-one years of age, remembered Bruce very well, and said that it was thirty-five years since he came into the country; that he continued in the country between one and two years, and was well received by the King, Tecla Haiminout, who used to give him money, and daily send him provisions, but that he held no government nor

land under him. Ras Michael gave him a house at Koscam, but never employed him in any of the offices of state: he was a favourite of the Iteghé, and of Ozoro Esther: he went to the Nile, and was robbed on his way thither by the son of Absa Bega, at Korringa, and he (Hadjee Hamed) was the person sent by government to recover his property. He declared positively that Bruce never had any country given him, not even at the head of the Nile; nor was any command conferred on him, either by the King or the Ras; nor was he in any of the battles between Welleta Fasil and Ras Michael; and during the battle of Serbraxos, especially, he was residing in the house of the Aboona Joseph. He generally lived at Koscam with the Iteghé, by whom, as well as by the King, the Ras, and Ozoro Esther, he was much respected: it was by the interest of the Iteghé, in particular, that he recovered that part of his property, of which he was robbed in his way to the head of the Nile. He did not understand well Amharic or Tigré, and did not speak much more Arabic than I do, but had with him an interpreter named Michael: he generally avoided going much into company.

"Yusuph, interpreter to the late Aboona, paid me a visit on the 26th of September. He had accompanied the Aboona hither from Alexandria thirty-five years ago, and is related to Marcus, the present Greek Patriarch. He said that he knew Bruce well, and sent three of his own people to attend him to Sennaar; that he heard of his having got safely there, but had never learned what became of him afterwards. He spoke of him with much regret, and appeared sorry to hear of his death. He and every one with whom I have conversed confirmed the character of Ras Michael, as given by Bruce. He said that the late Aboona held that station thirty-three

years; but that he remembered Abba Sulama, whom, he said, Ras Michael hung with Negardus, and some others: he added, that every thing went on well during the reign of Tecla Haiminout, he himself, in particular, being well provided for, and possessing plenty of every thing; but that divisions afterwards occurred, and continual changes of kings; and that when the Aboona died he was left destitute, and had since been obliged to sell his matchlocks, of which he had ten, his swords, and all he was worth: he wished much I would carry him with me to Egypt.

"A Greek named Georgis, who had resided some time at Gondar, was a more intelligent man than those I usually met with; he had travelled over India, and spoke Indostanee; he also wrote Arabic, and brought me two books, of the Old and New Testament, in Arabic and Latin, printed at Rome in the year 1671, in each of which was written "pertinet ad Missionar. de Prop. Fid. anno 1746." These he shewed with pride, and said he had bought at Adowa. As he could have no motive for deceiving me, I put the usual questions to him about Bruce, and his answers fully confirmed the accounts I had before received.

"Ligantur Metcha, another priest whose name I am unacquainted with, Negada Moosa, and the Ras's principal builder, also remembered Bruce, and concurred in declaring that he never received any place, government, or land, from the King. They also affirmed, that he never was commander of any troops, particularly the Koccob horse, at the head of which corps was an intimate friend of the priest's, at the time that Bruce was in the country.

"In the different conversations I had with the Ras, I endeavoured to turn the subject on the arrival of Bruce in the country. He

spoke of him extremely slightly, and evaded any question concerning him as much as possible. All that I could get out of him was, that he came into the country immediately after the battle of Fagitta, when he himself was appointed to the provinces of Begemder and Amhara; that Bruce went to the head of the Nile, and was not present in any engagement, nor held any public situation while in Abyssinia; and they never could learn why he came into the country.

" These testimonies, together with the accounts (already inserted in the journal) given by Ayto Ischias, by the priest whom I met on my return from Axum, and by the servant of Yunus at Adowa, compose a mass of evidence sufficient, in my opinion, to throw great doubt on the authenticity of the account given by Bruce of many of the transactions in which he represents himself concerned, during his residence in Abyssinia.

" Gusmatie Ischias was the only person, excepting the priests, whom we saw dressed in an under garment, or as they call it, " comise;" but all persons about the King, we were told, dress in this way. He informed me that he had left Gondar twenty years, before which, he entirely resided there, and at Ras-el-Feel. His sister Akalasa held great power in Tigré, and greatly influenced the Ras in the early part of his administration.

October 25.—We took leave of the Gusmatie at an early hour, and proceeded on our road, passing to the westward of the mountain of Gunduftch, and across the plain of Yeehah, which is uncultivated, except a few spots near a village on our right. We then left the mountains of Yeehah on our left; these, like the mountains of Adowa, terminate in vast masses of bare rock, the strata of which

are nearly vertical. The view of Samayat, in my larger views, will serve to give a tolerable idea of their forms, as they are all more or less inclined to the two figures there represented.

" We stopped for a short time under a Momunna tree, by the side of a spring of water strongly chalybeate; we then proceeded over some rocky ground scantily covered with poor soil, in an eastward direction, about six miles and an half, till we came to the river Angueah. This stream is seldom more than twenty feet broad; and though in some parts its depth is seven or eight feet, in others it is not so many inches. There are few shrubs and no trees on its banks; and we observed the largest fish that we had met with in Abyssinia, apparently a species of mullet, some of which were at least a foot long. We staid here to bathe, and were soon after joined by Hamed Chamie and all our train. They passed the night at a neighbouring village, where they were well treated, being presented with a sheep, bread, and booza. From the Angueah we proceeded by so circuitous a route over some high hills, that it was scarcely possible to make out our track. We had not, however, travelled more than two miles before we reached Dogai. This village is under the command of Lecka Moqua Ayto Selassé, whom I had met with at Adowa. He was at this time at Antalow.

" October 26.—The old man of the house, who appeared to be wretchedly poor, paid us much attention, and waited upon us with so much good will, that on our departure I made him a present of two dollars, and was only sorry that the great reduction of our money would not allow me to spare more: he was, however, exceedingly grateful for this trifle. About seven we descended from

the village of Dogai, and after travelling nearly four miles, came to a spot where two streams, one from the east, and the other from the south, join their waters and run northward, dividing the districts of Gella and Techo. A little before the junction, we observed some deep beautiful basons in the rocks (where the water was remarkably pure) forming most convenient places for bathing. We accordingly took the opportunity of refreshing ourselves in the stream. We afterwards travelled eastward for some time in a line with one of these rivulets, crossing and recrossing it twenty or thirty times. We met with a species of kingfisher, which Captain Rudland shot.

" Quitting the stream, we travelled about four miles farther over irregular hills, till we came to the village of Awaledo, leaving the village of Zonquib about five miles on our left. The inhabitants of the former place were very unwilling to accommodate us; but finding that their remonstrances could not induce us to depart (for we had spread our tent and were preparing to take up our lodging), they thought proper to afford us a house, and after much wrangling, brought us three cakes of bread, and prepared others for our bearers. The master of the house where we lodged informed me, that this district was under the divided command of Barrambaras Guebra Amlac, and Belletina Gueta Welleta Georgis, sons of Ayto Rossai. In the time of Ras Michael it was ruled by Ayto Gueta Tucklai. All kafilas passing through, pay the following rates of tribute at a village called Bet Negus (or the king's house) by the side of the river Mai Kolqual. For each man bearing a load, two handfuls of pepper; and for each loaded ass, two pieces of blue cloth. If the Shum knows of a kafila passing, he takes a piece of

Surat cloth, or a brulhé, and in return presents the owners with a sheep. When the caravan arrives at Antalow, the Ras takes five or six brulhés, Surat cloth, or other articles in proportion. Each of the two chiefs of the district above mentioned annually pays to the Ras one thousand pieces of Adowa cloth, and the collector of the taxes, Ayto Confu, pays two matchlocks. The old man added, that in King Yasous's time, the chief of this district paid only three hundred pieces of cloth; Ras Michael raised it to three thousand; but on the accession of the present governor he reduced it to two thousand.

"October 27.—We received a sheep from the villagers, and at an early hour resumed our journey. The whole of this district is surrounded with high and rocky hills, the summits of which are bare, and composed of regular and horizontal strata. We had to pass over one of the lowest ridges, near which are the ruins of a considerable village; at the top we saw the black eagle of Bruce, but could not get a shot at it, but Captain Rudland killed an Ashkoko. Hence we descended to a small pool of water in the midst of some fine Daroo and Lahaam trees. After descending a steep hill a little farther on, we proceeded through a valley thinly set with brushwood; and leaving the villages of Nurtha and Mai Kolqual on our left, passed over a rugged point of the mountain, into a small and uncultivated plain. The next three miles were over rugged hills, partly covered with kolqual, after which we continued our road between the two towns of Bellassa and Gella (Kella of Bruce); the former being immediately on our right, the latter about three miles and an half on our left. At the distance of about one mile east of Bellassé we came to the village of Negote, where we

stopped for the night. It is surrounded with very steep hills, with scarcely any interval of plain ground between them; the water running only through narrow gullies. The sides of these hills are formed by walls into ridges for the purpose of cultivation, but the scanty soil that is upon them is poor and unproductive, and the whole country around has a very barren appearance. The principal grain that is cultivated here is the Leoghé, of which Bruce has, by mistake, given a drawing instead of the Teff. This district of Bellassé is under Bashaw Guebra Eyut, and free of tribute. There is a toll established here for the kafilas, both as they go up and return, which, like all the others, is very irregular. It is at present in the hands of Ayto Isghé and Tecla Hamainout, who in consequence annually pays four matchlocks to the Ras. A horn of civet pays a quarter of a dollar, a slave the same, and loaded asses half a dollar each; sometimes a piece of Surat cloth and a handful of pepper. The toll for men carrying burthens is the same as at Gella. There are said to be three of these Guebras, tolls, or bars, (as they may be most properly termed) between Dixan and Adowa, namely at Lughoe, Bellassé, and Gella; and at Adowa is a fourth. Nearly north of Negote, and about six miles distant, is the mountain of Tucklee, which appears a post of considerable strength. It stands in the district of a chief in rebellion against the Ras, called Negale Hatzé, to whom it has three times afforded a secure retreat against the troops of Basha Guebra Eyut, who has been as often sent against him by the orders of the Ras. The first symptom of his rebellious disposition was a refusal to go up to the presence, about four years ago, on receiving a command, to that effect, from the Ras; on which Basha Guebra Eyut, in consequence of holding a

district closely bordering on his country, was ordered to march against him. The force of Hatzé was unable to stand a contest in the open field; after a skirmish, in the plain, he fled for refuge to the hill. The expedition ended, as usual, in burning the villages, and massacring all the helpless inhabitants It seems the chief did not consider himself altogether safe in this strong hold, for he compounded with the Basha, and agreed to submit, and pay a fine of five thousand head of cattle; merely however to gain time, for on the Ras's sending his people to receive the cattle, he caused them to be way-laid and attacked. This brought on a second visit, about two years ago, from Basha Guebra Eyut, which ended in seizing ten of Negale Hatzé's soldiers, whom the Basha carried before the Ras. The chief still refused to trust himself in the presence, which last year brought on a third attack, that ended as unsatisfactorily as the others. The spirit of the rebel remains unsubdued, and he continues to defy all the power of Tigré. He has a body of three thousand spearmen under him, but no matchlocks. We received a goat from the head man of the village of Negote, and bread for our bearers, and we killed our two remaining cows.

October 28.—We left the village of Negote at day break and descended about two miles in a north-easterly direction to the plain of Bellassé, through which runs a clear but shallow stream. Captain Rudland here shot a hooper and a species of lapwing, remarkable for a strong spine on the pinion of each wing.* For three miles

* It is common in Egypt, and, as a German naturalist very gravely informed me (who was collecting for the Emperor) is the bird which feeds in the mouth of the crocodile.

we passed over flat and poor ground; after which we came, by a slight descent, to another stream called Nuzeránch. About three hundred yards before we reached it, I was fortunate enough to get a shot at the black eagle of Bruce, which was perched on the top of a high bush. I wounded it in the head: but it still had strength to rise into the air, where it flew in a circle six times round, and then fell. I was much delighted with this addition to our collection, which was now growing pretty considerable. Bruce's drawing we found to be very correct.

" We stopped by the side of Nuzeránch for nearly two hours, baked some bread, made an excellent repast, and afterwards bathed in the stream. As the mode of our baking bread is somewhat curious, and may hereafter be useful to travellers, I shall here describe it. Our flour, (which was generally the unsifted produce of barley, ground between two stones), was first made up with a little water into dough. It was then flattened out, and a stone (of the hardest consistence we could find) which had been in the mean time heated red hot, was put into the center of the dough which was afterwards completely closed over the stone into the form of a round ball. It was then put upon the clearest part of the fire, and in a few minutes produced us excellent cakes; at least what we at that time considered as such. This mode of baking bread is in common use with travellers in Abyssinia. From Nuzeránch the country is flat, barren, and covered with brushwood. Hence we passed between two hills with rocky summits, like castles, and about four miles farther fell into our old track to the south of that hill where we first saw an Abyssinian market. After proceeding about two miles and a half we reached Abha. Baharnegash Subhart

was absent,* but we were furnished with bread by Baharnegash Yasous, who here overtook us. He informed us, that as soon as the Ras had received Lord Valentia's letter, he ordered him to accompany us as far as Massowah.

"October 29.—We left the Baharnegash's village at an early hour, and after evading all demands for money, passed into the Serawé plain; but instead of turning off eastward, we kept more to the northward, for a considerable way along the edge of a gully, through which flows a torrent in the rainy season; and after a march of about four miles and a half we arrived at the wells of Haddadin, formed in the bed of the torrent. A number of shepherds, spear in hand, were busily engaged in watering their cattle, and it was with difficulty we got a scanty supply for our mules. The cattle were all of them in health, and most of them were fat. I was told that they belonged to a hundred different owners, some of whom had brought them several days march, no water being procurable on the eastern side of the country. These shepherds were Mussulmauns, and of the tribes below the mountains: most of them spoke a little Arabic. The wells at this place must bring in a very considerable income to the owner of the land, as a tribute is paid for all the cattle watered here, the rate of which is regulated by the dryness of the season. Hence we proceeded to a village above the wells, called Barraddo, the residence of Kantiba Socinius, the chief of this district, who was a man of good person, and had all the appearance of a warrior. He received us with much attention, and treated us with a quantity of maize. We were put into a

* We afterwards discovered that his absence was merely a trick, to prevent supplying our retinue with food.

H. Salt Esqr Pinxt

C. Warren sculpt

HAZORTA FAMILY.

shed, part of which was occupied by a family of the Hazorta tribe, which was come up to assist in getting in the harvest. In the evening I had an opportunity of observing the manner of living among these people, and of gaining additional information concerning them. Their evening's meal consisted solely of coarse cakes of bread, which were made from the grain collected that day in the field. The old woman first sifted away a portion of the husks; the grain was then ground by her and a young girl, and afterwards mixed up into a thick batter, which was spread out with the hand on a broken dish placed over a brisk fire; the old woman and the girl in the mean time being busily engaged in watching its progress. An old man, who seemed to be the head of the family, was sitting at his ease smoaking a country hookah: a boy of about sixteen was lolling on a seat in a recess at the farther end of the room, and two children, a cow, and a few goats, formed so excellent a group, that I could not resist the pleasure of drawing it. The family had scarcely patience enough to wait till the first cake was baked; and no sooner was it taken from the fire, than it was most eagerly devoured, and, that nothing might be lost, the old woman picked out of the ashes every crumb that had dropped. They seemed however to be perfectly happy over this frugal repast, which was concluded with a hearty draught of water.

"Having to rise at dawn of day, we went to bed soon after dark, but at about ten o'clock we were awakened by our host, who brought us, for ourselves and bearers, three hundred cakes of bread, about six gallons of milk, and a jar of honey; he had before presented us with a fine cow, and had made many excuses for a deficiency of maize.

"October 30.—I was given to understand that a present was expected, our host having heard of the money given to Baharnegash Subhart, with whom he was then at variance; he, however, was extremely civil in bringing forward the subject; and as I was anxious to leave friends in the country (most of the chiefs on the borders being nearly independent of the Ras), I thought it right at once, to present him with a Spanish doubloon, which Captain Rudland chanced to have in his possession. With this he was much pleased, and we parted excellent friends.

"Our road this day, after passing up the valley eastward, which may be said to constitute a nook of the Serawé plain, lay over wild and uncultivated hills, covered with acacia and brushwood. After about six miles riding we came to a gully, at the bottom of which we were happy to find a slow trickling stream, occasionally expanding into pools, in the deep holes, made by the torrent, which must, from the nature of the ground, be very violent in the rainy season. We breakfasted here and bathed; after which, resuming our journey, we came in a short time upon our old track, near the spot where Captain Rudland killed the Abou Gumba: hence a ride of a mile brought us to the village of Bakauko, where we immediately procured our old house, and experienced a very attentive reception from its master. Two of our bearers fell sick and returned to Adowa.

"In the course of the day, and during our last night's stay at the village, we gained some additional information about the Serawé, who are all Christians, and are considered as being properly under the governor of Tigré, but whose power they have for a long time defied.

" After the Ras's return from his expedition to Hamazen, he dispatched Fit Aurari Zogo against the Serawé: in his attack he is said to have been victorious, and to have killed one hundred and fifty people. It was in consequence of this that the Ras gave him his niece in marriage.

" It is now only a year ago since a chief of the Serawé, named Aguldum, was in arms against the Ras. A family feud was the first occasion of the Ras's interference. Ayto Aylo, Aguldum's brother, who held with him a divided command, is said to have been very licentious in his conduct, and to have carried, from his brother's villages, many of the beauties, to satisfy his amorous inclinations. This was resented by Aguldum; a quarrel was the consequence; and Ayto Aylo being the weaker, fled to the Ras for protection. The fugitive found the Ras already well inclined to support him against his brother, owing to the following circumstance. Some of Aguldum's soldiers, who had deserted from him a short time before, had entered into the service of the Ras; but being soon after dissatisfied with their new master, they abused him, by saying that he was inferior in every respect to their former chief, to whom they determined to return, an intention they accordingly put in execution. These two inducements concurring, the Ras marched out in person against Aguldum, who, on his approach, fled across the Mareb. The Ras marched on, burning and destroying every thing in the country before him, but soon met with a check from Aguldum, who making a secret march, attacked him, while reposing in full security, during the night, and cut off many of his people. The steps of the assailants were traced in the morning to the village of Gellä Garoo, which the Ras entered and destroyed, but not before Aguldum had

escaped to a place of greater security. The Ras returned to Antalow, but sent strict orders to Baharnegash Subhart, and all the chiefs in the neighbourhood, to give no shelter to Aguldum in their dominions, and to collect their troops, and pursue him with all diligence.

" The chief of Gella Garoo, getting information of his place of retreat, attacked him in the night, and speared him as he was sleeping in his wife's arms: he had strength enough, however, to rise, but was cut down by their knives before he could make his escape over the walls: his wife, after being ravished, was slain also, and one of his sons fell in the attack.

" The Ras, at first, disbelieving the information, thought proper to send some of his people, among whom was Guebra Selassé, to ascertain the fact. They found every thing as had been stated, and in consequence seized his property for the Ras, consisting of four horses, one mule, and twenty cows; also his spear, shield, knife, and sheep-skin, which latter the Ras gave to Guebra Selassé as a reward. We saw Ayto Aylo at Antalow with the Ras, and I was informed that the Serawé were then upon the best terms with the Ras: they were commanded by Welleta Ayto Backral and Ayto Aylo.

" October 31.—We distributed our spears this morning among our bearers, by which they still managed to carry the whole of our baggage. I found a man at Bakauko, who left Massowah eight days ago, and learned from him, that the ship was not then there. We left the village of Bakauko at an early hour, and travelled over our old road to the plain of Zarai, where, on the eastern end, we found some running water, near a fine Daroo tree, of which there

are several in the vale. This rivulet, however, does not extend across the plain, being dried up before it gets through the valley. There is another stream which comes from the northward, running more to the west, that still carries a considerable stream. We stopped here to take our breakfast, after which we continued our journey, ascending the hill on which is situated the village of Adehadid. On the way we met a servant of Baharnegash Yasous, who informed us that his master had made arrangements for our staying there for the day, and proceeding to Dixan in the morning: accordingly we took possession of two sheds prepared for our reception. For my own part, however, conceiving it pleasanter to be in the valley by the side of the stream, than in a miserable hut at the top of a barren hill, I returned, accompanied by Mr. Carter, to the vale of Zarai, and took with me all the mules, for the sake of the excellent pasturage which I had observed there, the hill itself affording nothing except kolqual and acacia.

"November 1.—We left Adehadid at daylight, and travelled over a country entirely parched up, not a blade of green being visible, except a few Justitias, and great quantities of acacia and kolqual. There is scarcely any plain ground between the hills that form the ascent to Dixan, which we again reached by an early hour.

CHAPTER VI.

MR. SALT'S NARRATIVE CONTINUED.

Favourable reception at Dixan.—Account of the different Grains cultivated in Abyssinia.—Journey from Dixan to the passes of Taranta.—Conversations with Shum Ummar, a chief of the Hazorta.—Some Account of that Tribe.—Arrival at Arkeko.—Reception on board the Panther.—Dissertation on the History of Abyssinia.—Character of the Inhabitants.

CHAPTER VI.

On our arrival at Dixan, we were received with many demonstrations of joy by the inhabitants, and their chief, Baharnegash Yasous, and very soon after, our former plague, his brother, at the head of the chief men of the place, brought us two hundred cakes of bread, and a bullock, as a present from the town. This alteration of conduct was indeed remarkable, but may be easily accounted for, by the impression our favourable reception at Antalow had made on the Baharnegash, and the gratitude which I believe he really felt for our having used our influence with the Ras so powerfully in his favour, that, soon after our departure, he had obtained the regular investment of his office as Baharnegash, which he had in vain applied for ever since the death of his father. We also derived some benefit from the information relative to the history of Abyssinia, which we had acquired from Bruce and Poncet, and which was to the natives a source of perpetual astonishment. Bruce's drawings of Gondar, and its vicinity, which we shewed to the Baharnegash, tended to raise us, in his opinion, almost beyond the level of mortality. We killed two bullocks for our party, one of which we bought at the village of Adehadid, for four dollars, which, with the five dollars that we had been obliged to send forward to purchase flour, ghee, and other articles, completely exhausted our stock, and we should have been now absolutely penny-

less, had we not been able to procure a loan of three dollars from our guide Guebra Selassé. I went out with Mr. Carter in search of plants and seeds, and procured a few of both, and also a quantity of black drawing-chalk, which abounds here. We had at noon a recurrence of the scene at Adowa, concerning the mules; Guebra Selassé insisting on sending back one more to the Ras. As we had not received any answer to our letter from Adowa, I remained fixed to the old point, and declared that he might take back the Ras's three, but not the one presented to me by the Baharnegash. The dispute ended by his telling me that he would take the three; to which I again replied, that he might do so if he pleased, and broke off the discourse by declaring that I would not hear another word on the subject. Our hero, nevertheless, thought proper, in a short time, to change his tone, and sent to Hamed Chamie once more to accommodate matters. I afterwards procured from him ten dollars more as a loan, to secure him farther in our interests, of which I gave five to our bearers, that they might lay in a stock of provisions for the remainder of our journey. I also settled with the Baharnegash, who was present at the before mentioned dispute, to leave Dixan on Sunday, for it was impossible for me to wait for news of the ship's arrival at Massowah, having too many mouths to supply, our party then consisting, altogether, of nearly sixty persons.

"The Hazorta chief Ummar paid us a visit in the morning, when I took the opportunity of giving him some snuff, and a piece of blue cloth, expressing the pleasure I should have in seeing him below Taranta. He told me that he was going down to meet a kafila, and escort it hither, but that, whatever were my wishes, he should be happy to comply with them; enquiring at the same

time, if I should want any cattle, bearers, or camels, below Taranta. I answered, that I was fully provided with bearers, but should require eight or ten sheep, which he promised to have in readiness. He was well satisfied, and promised to be a useful man to us.

" November 2.—We had an application from the Baharnegash in the morning, to visit a spot which formerly yielded a constant supply of water, but which, by some chance, has since ceased to run. In compliance with his wishes, I and Mr. Carter set out on our mules. The place, which was at least three miles from Dixan, bore evident marks of there being water beneath the surface, as the grass was much greener, than on the land around: about two hundred yards beyond was a gully, in which we found several fine natural basons formed in the rocks, and full of water, but these reservoirs, though they are never dry, did not satisfy the old man, and he begged that I would look in my books and see if it was not possible to make the water issue out from above. I told him that it was impossible to do so, since the water had once found its way into the valley. But my declaration had no effect, so firmly convinced are the Abyssinians, that Europeans possess some magic power of accomplishing works of this nature. We had another visit in the afternoon from the Baharnegash, who anxiously requested me to put off our departure till Monday. To this plan I made many objections; but the old man pressed so urgently for it, that it was at last arranged that we ourselves should go on before, and that the Baharnegash should join us early on Monday morning at Hallai. We were engaged in making the necessary preparations for our journey. The thermometer was 70° at 4 P. M. in the cave.

" The weather had been invariably fine since we left Antalow;

the sun, at times, being extremely hot, but the nights cold. During the whole of our journey from Adowa we saw the inhabitants gathering in their corn, treading out the barley with oxen, and beating out the teff with sticks. It was my wish, in compliance with the instructions I had received from Lord Valentia, to have procured specimens of the different grains cultivated in Abyssinia, but the disappointments I had experienced in money concerns at Antalow, had left me so totally destitute, that I was obliged to depart without them. The following is the best account I could collect of their mode of cultivation.

" Wheat (of which there are two varieties cultivated in Habesh) sells from four to six gerbuttehs for the firk of cloth, or dollar. This is made into large loaves, which are either baked or prepared by steam, and is eaten only by the first class; indeed it is rarely seen but at the Ras's table, and is called Gogo. Teff constitutes the chief food of all ranks, and being considered of equal goodness with wheat, generally fetches the same price; it is made into the thin cakes of a large size called Engara. It varies extremely in quality and colour, from pure white to black. Neug, a small grain, not unlike the Raggy of India, is held next in esteem; it sells for as much as the two grains before mentioned (and often, from being scarce, fetches double the price); it is mixed with teff or barley, and is a dry and harsh grain.

" A species of flax is extensively cultivated in the neighbourhood of Dixan: it is not in great esteem for bread, but is much eaten, when parched, by the lower classes. There is also a species of vetch in much request, which is chiefly eaten in the morning, either mixed up with the ghee and curds into balls, or eaten with teff: it is

always seen at table on fast days, at which time are also introduced green wheat and parched Indian corn and beans.

" Of barley (called Ambasha) there are two kinds, one of which is of a black colour. There is a great quantity cultivated, but it is less prized than any other grain, and fetches not more than half the price. This partly proceeds, I imagine, from the difficulty of cleaning and preparing it; for when properly purified and mixed with wheat, it makes one of the best kinds of bread used in the country, and is made in the form of cakes about a foot in diameter, and three quarters of an inch thick: it is however dry and harsh, and is the only corn given to horses and mules. Indian corn or maize is much cultivated between Gella and Dixan, but I never saw it made into bread.

" It is scarcely possible to ascertain the actual price of any kind of corn, from the circumstance of its being only exchanged as an article of barter, and not having any fixed price as in other countries; besides, almost every man cultivates just enough for the consumption of his own family, and therefore seldom goes to market either to buy or sell it.

" A gerbutteh of grain is said to make from eleven to fifteen of the large cakes, or engara; two of which are considered as sufficient for the provision of one man per day: this, reckoning six gerbuttehs to the dollar, will make the keep of a servant amount to somewhat about two-pence per diem; but I consider this to be about double the actual cost, as the servants are rarely more than half fed, not to mention many other circumstances all turning in the master's favour.

" Their implements of husbandry are extremely rude, the plough

being shaped, to the purpose, out of the root and branch of a tree; sometimes indeed a ploughshare of iron is added. Two oxen are invariably yoked to the plough, and it is guided by men alone; in all the other parts of agriculture, the women take an equal if not a greater share. The luxuriance of the soil, which in the low lands will admit of two crops annually, produces a great number of weeds; and the clearing of these is one of the most irksome of their toils. For this they often turn up the ground a second time, and pick out most carefully every root; but as this is not sufficient, when the corn is about half ripe, they collect together men, women and children, forming a line along the field, and with singing, and much merriment, pluck forth all the weeds from the corn. The labour of reaping is entirely thrown on the females. On passing any field where the women were at work, they uniformly greeted us with the sharp and shrill cry, which is undoubtedly the Ziraleet, described by Mr. Russell as being used by the women of Syria during the harvest, who also quotes from Pietro della Valle a most accurate description of it, that it is "a sharp and loud cry of joy," made in concert, by a quick and somewhat tremulous application of the tongue to the "palate, producing the sound heli li li li li li li li."

"November 3.—We set out from Dixan at a tolerably early hour, and travelled a little to the southward of the road by which we came to that village. The ascent was gradual from hill to hill. We passed two villages on the left, and one on the right, and then arrived at Hallai, situated on an elevated plain, well cultivated, and the hills around thickly covered with oxy-cedar. Here we took possession of a shed that was assigned us, and afterwards walked

to the southward in search of plants and birds. Of the former we found a few new species, but did not see any birds except thrushes. About a quarter of a mile from the village of Hallai is a fine spring of water, which runs successively into several natural basons in the gully below. It issues out of the side of a rock, and affords a plentiful supply of water throughout the year. We felt here a very perceptible difference in the atmosphere, the air being cold, and in some degree moist, as if rain had fallen. The country around also was not so much parched as below. I bought four sheep for two dollars, two of which I ordered to be killed. The thermometer was 75°: our distance from Dixan was six miles and a half.

" The master of this village, who is dignified with the title of Baharnegash, or Kantiba, brought us some soar (a grain) and milk in the evening, as also eighty cakes of bread for ourselves and bearers. I presented a looking glass and beads to his wife in return, and one dollar to the old man, with which he was well satisfied.

" November 4.—We left Hallai at day light, after having threshed two or three of the villagers who attempted to stop our baggage, for what reason I know not. We soon came to the descent of Taranta, for Hallai is situated on one of the heights of this mountain, which we walked down with much ease to ourselves and mules. This pass is at present incommoded with large and loose stones, but is capable of great improvement, if it were in the hands of industrious people. There is a yellow flowering shrub that was in great profusion on its side: the kolqual was also in flower. We halted at our old station at the foot of the pass, where we found several large kafilas on their way up to Abyssinia, loaded chiefly with cotton. They had been here three days, and expected to remain

five or six days longer; Ummar, the Shum of the Hazorta in this district, had the charge of seeing them safely to Dixan.

"This chief soon paid us a visit, and from him I gleaned the following information.—That there are three thousand fighting men in their tribe, under five different chiefs: First, Shum Moosa, who commands in the district of Assahcurry, to the south of Taranta; second, Shum Ally, who commands at Assalatha; third, Shum Hussien, at Dallieth; fourth, Shum Hamed, at Assubah; and himself, Shum Ummar, at Dufferkydah, in the neighbourhood of this place, who also commands the passes of Taranta. All these chiefs, whose territories extend from near Dixan to the sea, live in strict amity with each other, and acknowledge Shum Abdallah Welled-el-Zangarah as supreme. He resides at Zulla, by the sea side, somewhere near to the island of Valentia, where water is procurable throughout the year; that is, there are wells, which though generally exhausted in the evening, are, like those at Arkeko, full again by the morning. To this place they all go down in the rains with their cattle, and remain there four or five months, till the force of the waters is abated. On their return, they bring with them a considerable quantity of salt, which they exchange for grain in Habesh, and the districts of Baharnegash Yasous and Subhart. This salt is procured from a mountain two days journey from Zulla. They cultivate a little grain themselves, but subsist chiefly on the flesh and milk of their cattle. Subboolah is the name of a species of fig tree, which they lop for their cattle when grass is scarce. There is a powerful tribe to the south, called Bussamoo, with whom they are at war, and another tribe to the north called Tecroor; all of them speak the same language, which he called Dancalli. They trade

with the Dancalli tribe, but are afraid of them. When they go to Massowah, they give two or three cows to the Nayib; and whatever is stolen from Habesh is taken to Massowah, where they receive, in lieu of stolen property, Surat cloth, spear heads, and other articles from the Nayib, who monopolizes this scandalous traffick, and punishes any one who attempts to participate in it.

" My informant farther told me, that the Shiho tribe at Hamhammo was two hundred strong; that it spoke the language of the Hazorta; and was commanded by Shum Hamed, who lives at the village of Daghah. It has little communication with the latter, but if at any time the tribe molests the kafilas, it is always resented by the Hazorta. Near Hamazen, and subject to it, are two Christian tribes, Saharteh and Woggurta. There is plenty of water all the year round at the foot of Taranta.

" I presented to this chief two pieces of cloth, two looking glasses, four knives, and a pair of scissars, some snuff, and a sash that I wore round my waist, to which he seemed to have a fancy. He was much delighted with these trifles, and professed that he should always regard the English as friends.

" In the afternoon we had a messenger from Dixan, informing us that the Baharnegash would not leave the place till the morrow. We did not consider our present situation as a very pleasant one, there being too many of the Nayib's people at hand, as also a considerable number of the Hazorta, all of whom are alike in the habit of plundering; I therefore ordered the mules to be prepared, and determined to go on to Assubah.

" The moment our intention was made known, a hundred difficulties were started, and it seemed at once as if every soul in

the neighbourhood was concerned in our detention. The Hazorta fled to their arms, and took possession of the pass, threatening us if we dared to proceed; the Mussulmauns in the kafilas, Shum Ummar, and two of the Nayib's Ascaries (old acquaintance) advised us not to move, as night was coming on, for we should certainly be attacked, and all cut off by the Bedowee. They assured us, moreover, that there was no water on the road, and no food for our mules. Guebra Selassé declared that he would not stir, and our bearers to a man refused to proceed. Hamed Chamie came to me in great alarm, entreating that we would stay, as he was sure some harm would ensue. If we had now given up our purpose, it would have had so much the appearance of fear, that even from a regard to prudence we determined to persist. We laughed at Hamed Chamie's fears, desired the Nayib's people only to give their advice when it was asked, brought Guebra Selassé over, by telling him that he was no soldier; and partly by taunts, and partly by promises of reward, prevailed upon a great number of our bearers to take up their loads. Mr. Carter, incensed at some detention he met with from Shum Ummar, dismounted from his mule, and marched forward on foot by the Hazorta, who seemed chiefly to have an eye on our baggage.

"I was now informed by Shum Ummar, that the chief who headed the party which stood ready to oppose our passage, had lately been made desperate by the death of some relation, and that he wished to make up for his loss by obliging us to pay tribute. Shum Ummar accordingly went to him with a goat in his hand to appease him, and we advanced. A violent scuffle now ensued; one party of the Hazorta attempting to attack us, and the other, headed

by our friend Shum Ummar, forcibly preventing them. The latter succeeded, and we at length marched unmolested through the pass. After advancing about three hundred yards, our only remaining cow was missed; on which our bearers, all at once grown courageous, laid down their loads, seized their arms, and determined to attempt a rescue. It proved on farther enquiry that the animal was with the advanced parties. Those of our bearers that had strayed behind, in a little time joined us with Guebra Selasse, who had remained to secure the rest of our baggage. We were shortly after overtaken by our friend Shum Ummar, who came to take his leave; he told us that he had got a bruise in the scuffle, but that all was now well. On his going away I gave him a dollar, with which he was well satisfied. It was nearly dark before our arrival at Assubah, where we pitched our tent for the night, baked some bread, which constituted the whole of our meal, and retired to rest. It is to be remarked, that we found a fine clear running stream all the way from Taranta, which completely refuted the assertions of the Mussulmauns respecting the scarcity of water.

"November 5.—Before day-light we struck our tent, and commenced our march, having bought another cow with the last four dollars that we could muster among our people. We found the stream increasing as we advanced, and could scarcely recognize Tubbo as we passed it, the late torrents having in every part altered the appearance of its bed, leaving every where strong marks of their ravages. Trees in many parts had been thrown down by their force, large masses of stone removed, and the whole of the bed, from Taranta, was strewn with pieces of kolqual brought down from the mountain.

"At this time there was scarcely a blade of grass to be seen on the banks of the stream, yet there were young oxycedars springing up in abundance, and the trees still continued in flower. I procured seeds from two trees much resembling the Wanzah, and saw a great quantity of large monkeys on the hills, as also a few very small ones, that seemed to run from the former. About eleven o'clock we arrived at Sadoon, where we halted during the heat of the day, employing our time in bathing, and taking our morning repast. We proceeded about four, on our march, notwithstanding the remonstrances of a deputation from a kafila that was going down with us, which came to me, accompanied by Guebra Selassé, to advise me by no means to proceed, as the next stage was a dangeous one, and the halting place unsafe. In reply, I recommended them, if they thought so, by no means to proceed; at the same time I promised to Guebra Selassé a dollar for every five of the natives whom he might see together at one time on the road. We met at least two hundred bullocks and asses in the afternoon, going with salt to the upper country, attended by a few straggling Hazorta. At about five o'clock we halted under a Momunna tree, on the spot where we had before rested on our journey from Hamhammo. Having pitched our tent, we ordered the two remaining cows to be killed, and grass to be cut, from the hills around, for our mules. Our bearers were all very watchful during the night, and we heard them at all hours exercising their slings, for the purpose of keeping off the Shiho, who inhabit the hills around. In the course of the night an old man and child came to us for food, being allured by the smell of meat.

"November 6.—We struck our tent and set off at day-break,

but had not advanced two miles, when we saw with surprize one of our people ahead throw down his load at the mouth of a gully on the left, and seizing his spear, shout aloud; making at the same time all the gestures usual with them on going into battle. Captain Rudland supposed that the Shiho were coming down to attack us; for my part, I thought that it was a sort of war challenge, calling upon the Shiho by way of bravado; we were however both mistaken, for on looking towards the gap, whom should we see but our friend Baharnegash Yasous on foot, with four or five followers. He had left Dixan only two days before, and had come across the hills by a near road to meet us. Thus reinforced, our bearers went on with spirit, and soon brought our baggage to a spot a little to the northward of Hamhammo, where the stream was still running, though we had often lost it on the road. Here we rested, took our breakfast, and again sent out the bearers for provender for our mules. After remaining a few hours we recommenced our journey, and, at the distance of about a mile, passed an encampment, very much like the one before mentioned in my former journal. The Hazorta were busily engaged in cutting down the branches of the acacia for their goats, of which they seemed to have a good stock. We bartered a little flour for some milk, and our people also exchanged some skins for different articles.

" We saw soon after the ruins of another encampment that had been deserted. Hence we continued along the bed of the torrent for about a mile farther. The stream indeed, properly speaking, ceased at Hamhammo, but there were a few holes, where water was still found in the bed so far as this place. Here, however, the water came entirely to an end, being lost in a bed of sand, that spreads

over a plain of considerable extent to the eastward. With some difficulty we ascertained our right track, in which we proceeded in an easterly direction. A hill to the right was pointed out to us as Asalitha, the residence of one of the chiefs of the Hazorta; beyond are the hills inhabited by the Russimous, who are said to have been beaten and plundered by the chief Shum Waldo.

" After travelling for a few miles over a barren and wild country, thick set with acacia, we passed the Shiho encampment where we before slept, and thence went on to Weah. We found no stream here, but plenty of water in the hollows under the rocks. We did not pitch our tent, intending to go on in the middle of the night. Here we saw several hyænas and jackals, and were so much incommoded by musketoes and ants, that it was impossible to sleep. Our bearers also seemed little inclined to repose, but amused themselves in dancing, singing, and performing their war antics till nearly eleven o'clock. Soon afterwards they proposed, as it was a light night, to proceed on our journey, for the purpose of avoiding the heat of the ensuing day, there being no water between this place and the vicinity of Arkeko. We were glad to comply with this proposal, and accordingly mounted our mules. and rode on to a spot near Shillokee, where we halted, and slept from one o'clock till a little past four; we then set out for Arkeko, under no small anxiety, lest the report which we had heard on the road of the absence of the ship, should prove true; in which case, from our former experience of the hostile disposition of the Dola, we anticipated no small trouble and personal hazard. In order to keep up the spirits of our attendants, I had ventured to express myself perfectly certain, that the ship would make her appearance as soon as we reached

the coast; and by a most fortunate coincidence, as the day broke, we were gratified by the sight of a vessel in the offing, which we were soon convinced was no other than the Panther. The effect which this had on the whole party is scarcely to be conceived; the old Baharnegash, in particular, kissed my hand with profound respect, saying, you know every thing.

"We reached Arkeko about half past seven, went to our old house, and were there informed that the Nayib was at Massowah. Mr. Carter soon after walked out, and had stones thrown at him by several of the inhabitants; those of us also who remained in the court yard were welcomed by a few of the same compliments. Not knowing how far this might proceed, I sent for the Nayib's son, loaded in his presence all our muskets, and declared I would shoot the next person so offending; which fortunately prevented a recurrence of the outrage.

"In the course of the morning we walked round the beach close by where the Panther was lying, and after discharging all the fire arms that we possessed, as a signal of our approach, we were happy to see the old cutter come off, which soon carried us on board, to the mutual and heartfelt joy of ourselves and friends."

End of Mr. Salt's Journal.

The investigation of the earliest accounts of Abyssinia, having led Mr. Salt to form opinions on its history, different from those hitherto entertained, he, at my particular request, drew up the following dissertation, which I consider as forming a very valuable addition to the knowledge we have acquired by his residence in that country.

" Abyssinia is a corruption of the Arabic word Habesh, signifying 'convena.' This name has been invariably used by the Arabians, though adopted in modern times only by the Abyssinians, who prefer that of their different provinces, as Amharians, Tigrians, or the more general one of Cashtam (Christians), of which they are extremely proud, and which generally was the first word they addressed to us on our entering the country, accompanying it by laying hold of a blue silk string round their necks, which is with them the indisputable proof of their being entitled to the appellation. In their books they are styled Ethiopians, sons of Ethiopia, Agazi, and Axomians; by a similar name to which (Axomites) they were alone designated among the Romans. Many authors, particularly Ludolf,* a writer who has entered very deeply into their history, have supposed them to have passed over from Arabia; but to this there are many objections, for I do not recollect any instance of a nation having sent back settlers to its mother country; yet we have an account in Procopius, of a band of the Axomites, on invading Arabia, having been so pleased with it, that they gave up their own country, and continued there.† It appears more probable from the general tenor of their history, that they were refugees from Egypt, who conquered, and mingled with, the aborigines of the country; else, from what source could they derive their veneration for the Nile, of the consequence of which, in Abyssinia, they could form no idea? Whence their style of building, so totally different from any in Arabia? Or their written character, which is as essentially different from that of the antient Cufic? The

* Vide his Comment. 58, 59.

† Vide Procopius de Bello Persico, Lib. I. c. xix. Paris, MDCLXII.

Greek or Ethiopic being written from left to right, the Cufic from right to left; the former having each character distinct and square in its form, and the latter chiefly consisting of curves running wildly into each other. Even the very form of their government, which always appears to have been monarchical, points out Egypt, rather than Arabia, for their origin.

"But as this is a point of considerable importance, it may not be uninteresting to enter a little deeper into the discussion.

"In the earliest records of history, we find the Ethiopians represented as a very numerous and powerful people; their importance, however, progressively declined, as Egypt advanced in consequence; for as the population of that country increased, it naturally extended its conquests in the direction of the Nile, compelling the Ethiopians to retire towards the south. Meroe seems to have been the point at which their progress was stopped; yet, beyond this, bands from Egypt afterwards emigrated and settled themselves among the Ethiopians: of one of these flights we have an account in Herodotus, who mentions that it consisted of two hundred and forty thousand in number; that they were called, as a nation, Asmack, or Askham; that they fled from Psammiticus six hundred and thirty years before the time of that historian, and went as far beyond Meroe as that place is from Elephantine. These people are considered by Dr. Vincent to be the same as those described by Strabo, under the name of Sebritoe, or Sembritoe (Advenæ), who inhabited all the country above Meroe, and extended across the mountains nearly to the Red Sea. They are also described, more accurately perhaps, by Pliny under the names of Semberritoe and Asachie, on the mountains. These I consider, with Dr. Vincent, to

be no other than the Axomites, or, as they term themselves in their most antient books, Agazi.

" The Abyssinians, in their modern books, lay claim to great antiquity, as being descended from* Ham. They also boast that one of their queens, named Maguedâ, was the Queen of the South, who visited Solomon, by whom she had a son named Menilech, from whom their present kings are lineally descended. The only thing like evidence on this subject, depends on the authenticity of a series of chronicles, said to have been kept regularly by the priests at the ancient city of Axum. The authority of these has, however, been with reason disputed, as it is scarcely possible that they should have been preserved, considering the wars in which the country has continually been engaged. Besides, the evidence of the Axum inscription seems decisive against them, as a king certainly would not call himself son of Mars, who prided himself on his descent from Solomon. It seems, on the whole, probable, that this idea was borrowed from their dependents, the Homerites, and was assumed long after the introduction of Christianity.

" Whatever their religion may have been in early times, they do not appear to have been exclusively attached to it, since, when the Romans succeeded to the trade of the Red Sea, they found the Axomites, as they were then called, ready to receive, together with their merchandize, the worship of their gods. This is proved by the inscription I found at Axum, where the sovereign of the country styles himself son of the God, the invincible Mars; even if we do not refer to the second Adulitic, which, if allowed to have been erected by an Abyssinian king, would be still more satisfactory.

* Mendez and Bruce's History.

" It is only about one or two centuries after the commencement of the Christian æra, that the Abyssinian history begins to emerge from obscurity. A very close commercical connection was then formed with the country by the traders from Egypt, as appears in the Periplûs; and the Greek language became so common in the country, that it was used by the king of Abyssinia to commemorate his exploits, even so far in the interior as Axum, which also most strongly corroborates the knowledge of Greek attributed by the Periplûs to Zoskalis.

" This connection with Egypt seems to have added greatly to their power and consequence in the Red Sea: for in the first information we have of them, we find them confined to the western coast, and the trade chiefly in the hands of Arabians: but in a few centuries afterwards, we perceive they became masters of the greater part of the Arabian coast, and appointed viceroys over the Homerites, who, after conquering the Sabeans, had in their turn become subject to the King of Axum.* To effect this, however, required a long period of time; and might never have taken place, had not a peculiar series of external and favourable circumstances, concurred to farther their progress.

" After the Phœnicians had ceased to be a maritime power, Egypt had occupied the Red Sea with her fleets, and had engrossed all the valuable productions of India and the east of Africa: but she was content to hold this monopoly in conjunction with the Arabians, who, from time immemorial, had been joint possessors of the trade. When the dynasty of the Ptolemies had been overthrown, and Egypt had become a province of the Roman empire, the Romans

* Procop. Caput xix. Baronius, Lib. vii. art 22. A. D. 522. Nicephorus Call. Lib. xvii. Cap. 32. Paris MDCXXX.

succeeded of course to this trade: but the genius of that people was ill-formed for commerce; and the very nature of their government was such, as to render their power of short duration in this part of the world; for so long only could they hope to hold it, as they followed the line marked out to them by their predecessors. On the contrary, instead of adding strength to the union that ought to have subsisted between them and the Arabians, their desire of conquest led them to take possession of their sea ports, and even to send an army into the heart of their country.* In this expedition, however, they effected nothing of consequence, but were harassed, baffled, and driven back with disgrace. The remoteness, too, of their seat of government, was in itself alone sufficient to prevent a long continuance even of their influence here; for the viceroys of Egypt were more likely to think of enriching themselves, than of benefiting the Egyptian traders: besides that the empire itself was hastening fast to its end. These circumstances, added to the supineness and indolence of the Arabians, made an opening for the neighbouring powers, too advantageous to be long neglected; and accordingly we find, that it was shortly afterwards laid hold of, and by a nation which, until the Christian æra, had been known only by vague report.

" These were the very Egyptian tribes, which, mingling with the ancient inhabitants of the country, had extended their conquests eastward, and had established their power at Axum, under a feudal sovereignty; a government which, more than all others, is likely to attach the neighbouring tribes to its interest, since it does not require any change in their general system of policy, to enable

* See both Strabo's and Pliny's account of C. Gallus's expedition.

them to become an integral part of the state. From Axum, their conquests soon extended to the Red Sea; and here, finding friends in the inhabitants of the city of Adulis (which had also been built by refugees from Egypt), they together formed a very powerful nation, which was enabled to assume a consequence in the Red Sea, that the then possessors of the trade were unequal to oppose. Of these facts we have information also in the Adulitic and Axum inscriptions, and in the Periplûs, written, I conceive, after the time of Pliny, who, except Strabo, was the first to notice this rising nation; the latter writer having only remarked, in his account of the Ethiopians, that "as yet none of the Ethiopians had interfered with the commerce of the Red Sea." From the date of the Adulitic inscription, their power became supreme in this part of the world; and they formed a maritime barrier between the Romans and the Persians, which induced the former to conciliate them by repeated embassies, and annual presents, the magnificence of which strongly points out the consequence that they held in the scale of eastern politics,* which consequence continued, in some degree, until a considerable time after the rise of the Arabians under Mahomet.

"As idolatry declined among the Romans, by the same channel that the worship of Mars had been introduced, the true religion of Christ found its way into Abyssinia, and at length was happily established as the religion of the country, about the year 330, in the reign of Abreha, or, as he was called by the Romans, Aeizana, (who had at this time taken his brother Abybeha, or Saeizana, to share in the empire). The persons to whom the introduction† of

* Nicephorus, p. 719, ch. cxviii. † Vide Fred. Spanheim Historia Christiana, Secul. iv. cap. iv. viii. and Socrates, lib. I. cap. xix.

Christianity is attributed, are Frumentius and Ædesius, according to the account given by Rufinus, who declares that he had it from Ædesius himself, who also returned from Abyssinia, and was made Bishop of Tyre: but he spoke of it as in India, which occasioned much confusion; yet it is most clearly made out to refer to the Axomites, by St. Athanasius, and Constantius's letter to Aeizana and Sazana; and that the former reigned at Axum, is clearly established by the Axum inscription.

" Frumentius and Ædesius, two young men, Christians, but unordained, in company with one Meropius, a Tyrian, were shipwrecked on the coast, where, being captured by the barbarians, Meropius was killed; but the young men were taken before the King of Axum, and accepted into his service. Afterwards, on the king's death, they rose to great honours, even to the administration of the government, by the appointment of the Queen, during the minority of her son.

" By their influence, the foundation was laid for the conversion of the Abyssinians; and for the purpose of promoting it, Frumentius returned to Egypt, and was there appointed Bishop of Axum* by Athanasius, in which capacity he returned to Abyssinia. On the disgrace of St. Athanasius, Frumentius was attacked by the Arian party, as appears by a letter from the Emperor Constantius to the Kings Aiezana and Sazana, now extant in St. Athan: Apol. (vide B) requiring that they would send Frumentius to Alexandria. An embassy also was sent about this time for the same purpose into Arabia and Abyssinia, † as appears in Philostorges, an Arian writer;

* St. Athan. Arch. Alexand. ad Imp; Constantium Apol. Paris, MDCXXVII. p. 693.

† Philostor. Ecc. Hist. Lib. iii. and Nic. Call. Cap. XVIII.

and it is not improbable, that by this embassy was sent the letter of Constantius above referred to. The chief of this embassy was Theophilus, an Arian bishop. The account of his mission is valuable, and appears to me not to have been before sufficiently noticed.

"He was an Indian, who in Constantine's reign was sent as a hostage from the Divæi;* and being a man of great learning and knowledge, was afterwards raised to the episcopal dignity. In this mission he is said to have carried out two hundred Capadocian horses, besides other presents, to the eastern princes. He built three churches, one at Tapharon in Arabia, another at the Roman emporium at Aden,† and another on the island of Ormuz. He then passed over to Diabé, and to many other parts of India; crossing from Arabia, he went over to the Æthiopians called Axomites, who lived on the left side, to those sailing up the Red Sea, and who were so called from their metropolis, Axum. Having there settled every thing to his satisfaction, he returned to the Roman territory. Besides his extensive learning, he is recorded to have understood medicine (hunc enim divina virtute morbos curare fama celebris erat). His success in Abyssinia, however, though asserted in general terms, can scarcely be allowed, when we consider the high favour in which Frumentius was held; for if we may believe the Abyssinian annals, which here are perfectly consistent with the Byzantine writers, both he and the other missionaries with him, were, on his return, received with open arms by the chiefs, treated with high honour and respect, and by the com-

* Inhabitants of islands in the eastern seas. Vide Vincent, 495.

† This circumstance tends to make the Periplûs of later date than this period, as Aden was then evidently not destroyed.

mon people almost venerated as divine agents. No nation, indeed, ever received the Christian religion with more willingness than the Abyssinians, so that a great part of them were in a short time baptized to the faith; lands were set apart for the priesthood; churches were erected, and others afterwards excavated out of the solid rocks, by workmen sent for out of Egypt, by the orders of the Abyssinian emperors, and which they to this day retain. One of these I saw at Abhahasuba, which is undoubtedly of great antiquity, and resembles much the architecture of Egypt. With the rites of Christianity, however, they either incorporated many ceremonies which they had borrowed from the Jews, or, which is perhaps as likely, they received Christianity mixed with many Jewish rites, which had not, in the early periods of the church in Egypt, been so decidedly separated from it. Over this church, from its first foundation, the supremacy of the Patriarch of Alexandria seems to have been acknowledged, for the Emperor Justin writes to Asterius, Bishop of Alexandria, to incite the King of the Axomites against Dupaan;* and it was wisely determined that the chief priest, or Aboona, should be a stranger appointed by him; thus securing to so remote a country, on the death of each Aboona, a renewed supply of learning and Christian knowledge, superior at least to what was likely to be found there. In subsequent periods, from time to time, many holy men went over from Egypt, who were invariably received with reverence by the inhabitants, particularly nine or ten of great sanctity, between the year 470 and 480, whose memory is still highly respected in the province of Tigré, where as many churches were built and called after their names.

* Vide Baronius lib. vii. A.D. 522,

"The faith which they received with enthusiasm, they maintained with firmness; for so early as the time of Justin, about the year 525, when it appears that they were absolute masters of the Red Sea, we have a well authenticated account of a formidable army having been sent over to assist the Christians in Arabia by Caleb Negus, or Elisbaas, which proved successful. It was to this prince that Nonnosus was sent as embassador by Justin, part of whose account is still extant in Photius,* and the Adulitic inscription was also copied at this time by Cosmas.

"This, and the succeeding reign of Guebra Maskal, or Hellestheus, who was cotemporary with Justinian, and to whom the latter sent Julianus† as embassador, for the purpose of awing the Persians, and gaining a monopoly of the Indian trade, particularly silk, form the brightest period of the Abyssinian monarchy, as clearly ascertained in history; but I think we may presume, that it was also powerful at the time of the second Adulitic inscription being erected: to ascertain the date of this, is therefore of the greatest importance. But even computing from the time of the Axum inscription, when Aeizana was styled King of the Homerites and of the Sabæans, it will give us a space of upwards of two centuries for the duration of the superiority of Abyssinia over Arabia, and consequently of its command of the Red Sea, although the Arabian authors allow the Abyssinians to have absolutely ruled by their viceroys over Arabia Felix for no more than seventy-two years‡. Soon after Hellestheus, or in the latter part of his reign, their power began to decline in Arabia, owing to the desertion of their own troops, who became inde-

* Biblioth N. S. pm. 2. &c. † Procopius, C. xix. page. 60.

‡ Historia Joctanidarum, page 135, 151, and 41.

pendent settlers* there, and to the increasing power of the Persians, who were gaining in this part a decided superiority, and who succeeded at last in driving them from the country, though they molested the coast afterwards by frequent invasions, and kept up their influence in the Red Sea even to a later period than the time of Mahomet; for we find in Abulfeda,† that the King of Abyssinia gave protection to all the refugees who then fled from Arabia, among whom were some of the first families in that country, particularly Gafar, the son of Abu Taleb, in defiance of all the solicitations made to him to give them up. Afterwards, when the Mahomedan dynasty became all-powerful in this quarter of the world, though all their Arabian possessions were taken from them, their commerce and their consequence annihilated, their country invaded, and even their capital itself endangered, yet the Abyssinians remained firm; and alone, of all the nations of the East, succesfully continued to defend their faith against the ferocious attacks of the surrounding Mahomedan states. Yet the struggle in which they were engaged was severe indeed; and it is almost certain that they would ultimately, and even shortly, have sunk under it, had not, almost at this last extremity, the Portuguese arrived, after the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, to their assistance. This happened in the year of our Lord 1541, when Claudius sat on the throne, who, as well as his father David, to whom he had just succeeded, had been for some years engaged in a defensive war against Mahomet Gragné, King of Adel, one of the most blood-

* These may be what are often called the Abyssinians in Arabia, which afterwards, confused even Ludolf.

† Abulfeda Muslemiis, Vol. I.

thirsty savages history has recorded. The accession of European troops, as might be expected, soon changed the face of affairs; and after many desperate battles, in which the Portuguese were chiefly engaged, under their brave commander Diego De Gama, who in enterprize, though not in success, almost equalled his brother, the Moors were driven back, their king killed, and their armies nearly annihilated; while all hope of resources from the other coast were cut off by the Portuguese fleet, which then rode triumphantly in the Red Sea.

" It has been usual with many to condemn altogether these crusading expeditions; yet, in this instance, the effects resulting from it were in a high degree beneficial to the empire of Abyssinia, which was, in fact, completely saved, by the mode of warfare then introduced, and by the progress in civilization which the natives made under the tuition of the Portuguese, and to which alone is to be attributed the superiority which they have to this day retained above all the nations around them. This superiority has, however, been kept up only by a continual struggle, which gradually has tended to weaken their power, and render their situation every day more and more precarious, so as to make it likely that they may not, without assistance, be able much longer to stand out against the superior numbers of the Galla.

" Much, however, as we may admire the effects resulting from this expedition of the Portuguese, we cannot but condemn the bigotry with which their priests attempted to force the Roman Catholic religion on the Abyssinians, which succeeded only for a short time, merely from the weakness of one of their kings. For they were not content with infringing upon their ancient rites and cere-

monies; with altering their fasts, and denying them a participation in the holy supper; with burning their altars, and consecrating new ones; but they were absurd enough, which more particularly incensed the people, to treat them all as pagans or idolaters, by insisting on their re-baptism and the re-ordination of their priests; thus unnecessarily heaping, as their king complains in one of his letters, baptism on baptism, and priesthood on priesthood. To this their Patriarch added the folly, not to give it a worse term, of daring to excommunicate the legitimate sovereign of the country. Such repeated acts of aggression at length brought on them the merited punishment, and the exhausted patience of the Abyssinians gave way to a bitter rancour, which burst forth in the destruction of part of the priests; in the expulsion of the rest; and finally, in the exclusion of all strangers from the country. Yet the gratitude still felt for the services which, as soldiers, the Portuguese had rendered them, induced the Abyssinians to treat all, but the priests, with kind and continued attention, which cannot be more strongly shewn, than by an extract from a letter, written by Basilides,* when he expelled the fathers from the country.

" ' Lo, our messengers have faithfully delivered to us many things that you said, and various reasons that you urged, when they declared to you our command that you should return to your own country. First, you say, " we did not come of our own accord, but were sent in consequence of repeated letters written to invite us." What! do you still pretend ignorance of the numerous causes, though so clearly laid before you in our former letter, for which we have obliged you to migrate to your own country? why seek

* Ludolf's Commentaries, page 537.

you that we should again repeat them? Recollect you not the late fierce disputes between you and the people of Abyssinia, nay, which have always existed, from the contempt in which they have held your rites, your ceremonies, and your religion; and which have been carried to such a length, that, had not God protected you on high, and the favour of our emperor below, would have prevented your staying, I will not say twenty-two years, but even half a year, in the country? It is needless to describe how many men for this cause have been sacrificed, or how many labours and troubles the late emperor suffered in your cause, since all this must be fresh in your memory. But, in truth, the Emperor finding that this change of religion could by no means stand, himself, as he had first introduced, so he again changed it; returning to the fundamental doctrines of his fathers, which is the rock of the Alexandrian faith; and this he confirmed by his public edicts, so that it may not again be altered from generation to generation. What belongs to the faithful account of those brave Portuguese, whom you have wished to recall to our memory, who, in defence of religion, came into Ethiopia in the time of the Emperor Claudius, we perfectly know that they came for a good cause, and that in the very year they entered the country, peace flowed in like a river, and one people no longer rose against the other. For they did not teach the doctrine of persecution, or assemble together for the purpose of destroying the ancient religion handed down by the fathers and Apostles, nor did they force any one to observe other rites than those which were in public use, but rather fought in the defence of them, to free their country from the hands of a plunderer and a robber, commanding an army too truly Mahommedan.

These men are worthy of every praise, and they received their reward from our kings, so that they planted their vines, and tilled their lands in a country, where they had received nothing, not even a foot of land, as an inheritance. And whatsoever they have left, it remains to their children, who to this day live among us, upon the bread granted by us, and bequeathed to them by their fathers; nor is there any one who can say to them, What do you here? or, what business have you in this country? since all know that they came for the public good.'

"From these facts it will appear, that although partial heresies and gradual corruptions may have crept into the Abyssinian church, which was the natural consequence of their peculiar and isolated situation, yet they can justly claim the honour, not only of having resisted the open and formidable attacks of the Mahomedans, but likewise the more insidious attacks of the Romish church; as also, in its earlier period, of having resisted the Arian schism, and, like the Coptic Greeks, to whom their church is nearly allied, may still consider themselves as adhering to the faith which they first received. At the present moment, however, the nation, with its religion, is fast verging to ruin; the Galla and Mussulmaun tribes around are daily becoming more powerful; and there is reason to fear that, in a short time, the very name of Christ may be lost among them. Some events have lately occurred likely to hasten their fall; namely, the death of their late Aboona Marcus, and the failure of their endeavours to procure another from Egypt. By this, the last tie which bound them to the mother country is cut asunder; divisions among the priests have already ensued; the consequence of which is, that their most holy rites are likely to become objects of

derision, from the slovenly manner in which they are performed, and the sacred character of the priesthood to fall into contempt, from the dubious authority by which the priests are now ordained to its duties. To this may be added, that the little learning they have among them will soon be exhausted, being cut off entirely from the source that supplied it.

" It appears to me, that these circumstances call for the serious consideration of all Christians; for when so much trouble is taken, and so much expence incurred, in endeavouring to convert infidels to the faith, might it not be of equal, or more consequence, to give relief to a nation, already professing, generally, the same faith with ourselves, who at so very early a period received the Christian religion, cherished and defended it against its open and secret enemies, and who still maintain it; not pure indeed, but as their established faith; and to prove that they are a people not unworthy of our care, let us refer to what the Jesuits have said of them, at a time indeed when they were friends, but which, as Ludolf well observes, they never afterwards contradicted. In a letter from Fremona they write thus: 'Let it be particularly noted, that although the Abyssinians have fallen into many and great errors concerning the faith, yet, excepting these, it is certain that they still preserve that excellent disposition, and good natural inclination to all virtue and piety, which, from of old, they have possessed; and that even now, according to what the Fathers have seen, much fewer sins are found among them, than in many other Christian countries in Europe, where our holy faith remains as yet uncorrupted.'* Again: 'They give with much willingness alms to the poor, and treat strangers with hospitality.'

* Ludolf's Com. 194. Ex Epistolis de annis 1607-8.

" The Patriarch Alphonso Mendez also thus speaks of them, and his authority is of great weight, considering that he retained these opinions after his expulsion from the country: ' They are wonderfully affected towards divine matters; and have, from the time of the Apostles, amid the darkness of the Gentiles and Mahomedans, kept alive a spark of faith and of the Christian name. Above all things they are inclined to reading and knowledge. As to what belongs to their disposition, I can generally say, that the more noble and cultivated among them do not yield to Europeans, and that those of the lower order far excel our common people; so that there is scarcely one among them who can be called stupid and foolish,' &c.

" Poncet, whose fidelity as a traveller must ever rank him high, (p. 242) bears witness to their piety, attention to the duties of their religion, and their singular moderation with regard to others differing from them in point of doctrine. In addition to these, my own observations tend fully to corroborate what I have here quoted. I believe them in general to be possessed of most excellent inclinations, with great quickness of understanding, and an anxious desire of improvement; and I am fully persuaded that there is no part of the world where European influence might be exerted with more beneficial effects than in Abyssinia."

HENRY SALT.

CHAPTER VII.

Observations upon the probable result of Mr. Salt's visit to Abyssinia.—Views of Bonaparté respecting the Red Sea.—Means of obviating them.—Present State of Abyssinia.—Advantages which she may derive from a Connection with England.—Exports from Abyssinia.—Probable increase of Trade with the Interior of Africa.—Accounts from Pearce since Mr. Salt's departure.—Death of Mr. Carter.—Proceedings in England, and Mr. Salt's departure for Abyssinia.—Observations on Mr. Bruce's Map of Abyssinia and Chart of the Red Sea.

CHAPTER VII.

THE direct communication between Abyssinia and other Christian nations may be considered as again opened, by the visit of Mr. Salt to Tigré, after having been closed since the year 1558, when Soolimaun Basha conquered Massowah, Dhalac, and Suakin, and deprived the Abyssinians of all access to the Red Sea. In the course of the two succeeding centuries, the power of the Turks declined more rapidly than that of their Christian opponents; and the want of provision from the more fertile table land, induced the possessors of the ports in the Tehama to permit a trade to be carried on through their country, though they loaded it with the most oppressive duties.

Within the last fifty years the Turkish power has been little felt, even at Jiddah, and at Massowah not at all. The Nayib, unable by himself, to resist his more powerful neighbours, prudently yielded to the stream, and used some degree of moderation in his demands of duty on the goods imported into his harbour. Still the gate of Habesh was considered by him as his; and he probably entertained a hope, that he might one day have it again in his power, to raise the duties to an height, that would liberate him from his pecuniary embarrassments. Abyssinia itself was torn by intestine broils, and Arabia was more violently convulsed by the civil and religious hostilities of the Wahabee, against the followers of Mohammed. That, under such circumstances, the Nayib should

behold with alarm the arrival of a powerful nation in his seas, is not surprising. He must have been immediately conscious that he was at their mercy; and he must have suspected that they would be attached to his opponents, who professed the same religion, and whose country produced those articles of trade, of which his own was totally destitute. The Banians also, who saw plainly that a direct trade, between the British and Abyssinians, would put an end to their vast profits collected both at Mocha and Massowah, added to the alarms of the Nayib, by the invention of a thousand idle tales, and probably used even bribery to excite his brothers and his Ascari, to force him into those measures of perverseness and hostility, which were, I am convinced, contrary to the natural bent of his inclination.

These palliative circumstances would induce me to wish, that the Nayib should be considered as a friendly power by the British, if any permanent arrangement should take place between them and the Abyssinians. The Island of Valentia might, with little difficulty, be procured from him, as it only yields him a revenue of a few dollars; and all disputes respecting duties would be at an end, as the goods might pass direct to Zulla, the village mentioned by Mr. Salt, as situated on the sea shore, in the territory of the Hazorta, and which is the same I before alluded to, as being at the bottom of Annesley Bay. This amicable arrangement might prevent the immediate ruin of Massowah as an independent state; but, as its power is merely artificial, and depends only on the troops it is able to maintain, by the revenues arising from trade, its gradual decay is inevitable, and it will soon either become a barren sand, or sink again into the empire of Abyssinia.

Independently of those occasions on which they were guided by their intolerant zeal, the Portuguese have generally acted in Asia, in a manner that other nations might copy with advantage; and I trust that Great Britain, which has succeeded to her power in India, will also follow her example in cultivating a connection with Abyssinia. The crescent of Mohammed no longer, indeed, forebodes danger to Christianity, but the equally terrible eagles of regenerated France threaten universal destruction to ancient establishments; and it is apparent, that their formidable master has more particularly formed his plans against the eastern Empire of England. It was for the fartherance of this object that Egypt was conquered; and it is a continuation of the same policy, which has brought Seid Mohammed Akil to the Red Sea, to cultivate the friendship of the Arab powers. Abyssinia is of infinitely more importance than these; but fortunately, France knew not that Abyssinia was accessible. She conceived that, by securing the Island of Camaran, with its excellent harbour, its fresh water, fuel, and provisions, she could form an establishment which would command the passage of the Red Sea; and that, by entering into alliance with the Wahabee, whose offers had been slighted by the Bombay government, and with the Imaum of Sana, who hated the British name, she should render a continuance in the Red Sea impracticable to any fleet except her own, by cutting off all the necessary supplies. These expectations are completely annihilated by the discovery of Dhalac, Valentia, and the other islands, and by the connection with Abyssinia, whence the whole British navy might be supplied with provisions. It is a source of infinite gratification to me, that the conduct of Mr. Salt, Captain Rudland, and Mr. Carter, was such, during

their visit to the Ras, as not only to conciliate his esteem, but to leave a favourable impression of the national character throughout the country. It is therefore completely in our power to form that connection with Abyssinia, which will for ever shut out the French; but if we should neglect the opportunity, they will profit by our folly, as they have done in Arabia; and the discoveries made on the eastern shore of Africa, instead of becoming a national benefit to the English, will only tend to increase the already too preponderating power of her implacable adversary.

"The advantages that Abyssinia will obtain, by a direct communication with European nations, are incalculable. At present, she is suffering under all those evils that attend an inefficient government. Her king is invariably in the power of one ambitious subject or another; and receiving no revenue but from the nearly independent governors of his different provinces, he is incapable of securing a sufficient force to sustain himself, or to prevent them from wasting the resources of the country in mutual hostility. The consequence is, that the Abyssinian of Tigré fights against the Abyssinian of Begemder; and the Galla, taking advantage of their enmity, is gradully incroaching on both. The Governors of the different provinces are obliged to diminish the revenue by grants to their followers, who, conscious that they have no legal right to the sovereignty they assume, would otherwise desert them, and seek for a more munificent master. The result of these measures has been shewn in Mr. Salt's account of Tigré, the revenue of which seems to have been reduced to about one half of what it was in the time of Ras Michael Suhul.

Still the power of Tigré preponderates; and the Ras Welleta

Selassé is vested with the constitutional, but immoderate, power of prime minister. This is fortunate, as through that province alone can any communication be carried on, at present, with Gondar. An alliance with the British would supply him with arms, ammunition, and revenue, and thereby enable him to liberate his sovereign from the oppression in which he is now held, and to place in his hands the sceptre of the finest part of Africa. Abyssinia under one master would resume her ancient consequence; her people would cultivate their fields in tranquillity; and her eternal enemies, the Galla, would soon be driven, by the possessors of fire arms, into their own country. Nor would they, in all probability, long remain unsubdued. It is only difficult to fix in imagination the boundaries of the Abyssinian empire. By an alliance with Great Britain, the Christian sovereign of these realms would be rendered independent of his refractory chiefs, and those repeated insurrections and revolutions, in which the people invariably suffer equally with the monarch, would at once be at an end. He would have time to learn from his allies the arts of peace; and the amiable character of the Abyssinian, which Mr. Salt has drawn from his own experience, and the accounts of former writers, gives a fair promise, that a little labour would produce incalculably good effects. I cannot but flatter myself that Christianity, in its more pure forms, if offered to their acceptance with caution and moderation, would meet with a favourable reception; at any rate, the improvements in arts and sciences, which follow trade, would ameliorate the national character, and assist in bringing back their own religion to a degree of purity, which it has long lost. This would be greatly farthered, if the English were to use their influence with the Archbishop of Alexandria, to

send out as Aboona, a man of education and talent. Hitherto no man, who had any expectation of rising in his native country, would accept an office which was, in fact, a perpetual banishment, to live among a barbarous people, with whose language he was unacquainted, and who were surrounded by Mussulmauns, cutting off all communication with other Christians, and gradually incroaching on their territories. An Aboona, going out under British protection, would have far other ideas; and the fairer side of the picture would tempt an ambitious man to accept an office which would give him the supreme control over a numerous clergy, among a people highly reverencing his sacred character, in a healthy, fertile, and pleasant country, where, in affluence and rank, the sovereign alone could be considered as superior to him.

The restoring of tranquillity to the provinces, and a legal trade to the united empire, would also have the very important effect of putting an end to the exportation of slaves, which here is not only liable to the same objections as on the western coast of Africa, but to the still greater one, that the slaves exported are Christians, and that they are carried into Arabia, where they inevitably lose, not only their liberty, but their religion.

England has felt it an imperious duty, to step forward and liberate the unfortunate Negroes from slavery; and I trust the similarly hard fate of many thousand Christians, requires only to be known, to call equally for her active exertions in their favour; especially as those exertions will, in every point of view, be beneficial to herself.

The trade, that is at present carried on by Abyssinia with Arabia, is of considerable importance. From Jidda, she receives many

articles of European manufacture, embroidered velvets, arms, glass ware, silks, and satins; from Mocha, India goods of every quality, from fine muslins and kincaubs to the coarse Surat cloths, which are used as articles of apparel in a great part of Africa. On these, as I have before observed, when speaking of the fair of Berbera, the Banians demand what profit they please; the Imaum has a duty of ten per cent. on the export and import, and the Nayib another to the same amount. To the consumer, therefore, the article comes above one hundred per cent. dearer than it would do, were the importation direct: yet the value of the goods imported at Massowah is estimated at four hundred thousand dollars per annum, exclusively of raw cotton, which is purchased by the Abyssinians for their dresses, although the plant grows in their own country, from an ignorance of the way of cleaning it. Of this article there is, at present, so great a scarcity, that Hadje Hassan declared to me, three ship loads would find a ready market. It is worth half a dollar per rottol, though the usual price is only fifty dollars per bahar. No merchant of Massowah has a capital sufficiently large to enable him to purchase a cargo, nor even a large proportion of a cargo; but experience has given rise to a confidence in the honour of the dealers, which justifies the captain of a ship in trusting his property in their hands. Hadje Hassan or Currum Chund would receive the cargo, and consider themselves responsible for the whole; they would dispose of it in smaller quantities to people whom they knew worthy of credit, who would depart with it into the interior, and would, in about three months, return with the value in gold and other articles. A large ship belonging to the Nawaub of Surat arrived a few years ago, and actually dis-

posed of her cargo in the above manner, but the captain was obliged to pay five hundred dollars for anchorage; and Hadje Hassan is of opinion, that the Nayib, in defiance of his engagements, would insist on receiving the same from any British merchant vessel which should trade in his country. Till a regular arrangement shall have been made with Abyssinia, it is an object hardly worth a dispute, and had therefore better be paid.

The only articles of value which Abyssinia produces, are gold and ivory: but of these the quantity is sufficient to pay for the manufactures at present imported; and the former would increase, as the trade should extend to the eastward into those countries, where it is produced in the greatest abundance. A considerable caravan arrives at Massowah in February, which brings down slaves, mules, cattle, honey, zibet, ivory, rhinoceros horns, and a few trifling articles. The balance of trade is in favour of Abyssinia, so that several thousand dollars find their way there, but are hardly considered as a current coin. Two hundred wakeas of gold were brought down by the last caravan; and Currum Chund informed me, that, at a month's notice, he could procure two thousand, to pay for goods that were desirable. The wakea, or ounce of gold, costs at Massowah eleven dollars and three quarters, which, at two shillings and sixpence the dollar, is two pounds twelve shillings and tenpence halfpenny. One pound of this gold contains as follows:

	oz.	dwt.	gr.
Pure gold	9	6	6
Fine silver	2	10	0
Copper	0	3	18
	12	0	0

An ounce of this gold is worth £2. 18*s*. 4*d*. if pure gold be worth £4. which gives a profit of 5*s*. 5½*d*. per ounce. The following estimate will shew the value of the ivory trade.

1000 frassel of 32½lbs each, at 22½ dollars per frassel, at 4*s*. 6*d*. - - - - - - - dollars	22,500		
	£5062	10	0
Agent's commission on the purchase, 5 per cent.	253	2	6
Shipping, and delivery on board, 1 per cent. -	50	12	6
Cost on board	£5366	5	0
Freight on 14½ tons, at £10. per ton, being an article that might be stowed among the interstices of the cargo - - - - - - - - -	145	0	0
Insurance on £5900. at £6. per cent. not being subject to average - - - - - - - -	354	0	0
Policy duty ¼ per cent. - - - - - -	14	15	0
Interest on £5366. first cost, for nine months, at the rate of £5. per cent. per annum - - -	201	4	6
Cost in London	£6081	4	6
Landing charges 1 per cent - - - - -	60	16	3
Duty on 32,500 lbs. viz. 290 cwt. 0 qr. 20 lb. at £2. 7*s*. per cwt. 27½ per cent. and £8. 6*s*. 8*d*. per cent.	926	5	6
Cost in the warehouse	£7068	6	3

This quantity would produce £8125. at the average price of £28. per cwt. or about £15. per cent. profit if for home consumption; but if for exportation, there is a drawback of £1. 4*s*. 5*d*. per cwt. On the larger teeth the profit would be greater.

Basha Abdallah, in his letter to me, which was delivered by Mr. Salt, strongly expresses his wish of becoming better acquainted with the English, and hopes that, if any farther intercourse should take place, he may be mentioned as a person desirous of being employed by them. His conduct to Mr. Salt and his companions was so liberal, and free from those prejudices which usually narrow the mind of a Mussulmaun, that I feel it a duty to make public these expressions of his regard. Indeed it must be the interest of every trader to Abyssinia, to attach to his interest a man, who has more property and more power in that country, than any other of his religion, and whose agent, Hadje Hassan, is the most respectable merchant in Massowah.

Should a national arrangement ever take place, and Valentia become, as I am convinced it then would, the great emporium of trade with Eastern Africa, many buildings must be erected in that island, that the barter trade may be conducted under the superintendence of proper officers, and that the goods may be warehoused till they shall be wanted. It would then be unnecessary to send them up into the interior on credit; the native merchant would bring his gold and ivory to the spot, and take, in exchange, the manufactures of Europe and India: a traffic which the want of specie renders necessary. That the consumption of Abyssinia would increase greatly, even in the first instance, by the reduction of price, and the temptation of many novel and useful articles, which the ingenuity of our merchants would soon discover, appears to me certain; but I look forward to still greater advantages, from the facility which that country will afford of supplying Kordofan, Darfūr, and the other neighbouring states, with every article, at a

much lower price than they have hitherto obtained them, either from Egypt, by the way of the caravan, direct to Sennaar, or by the more circuitous rout of Mecca, Jidda, and Suakin, or from India, by Mocha, and the fair of Berbera.

Cobbé, the capital of Darfūr, is at a distance of nine hundred miles from Siout in Egypt, whence the caravans enter the desert. It is only necessary to read the interesting travels of my friend Mr. Browne, to perceive the many, and almost insurmountable difficulties, under which the merchants labour, who pass from one country to the other. On the other hand, Cobbé is only distant from Gondar between five and six hundred miles, and the greater part of the road is through a fertile country, instead of the inhospitable deserts of the interior of Africa. Even in the present disturbed state of Abyssinia, caravans still make their way to Darfūr unattacked, and find a safer passage than among the predatory tribes of wandering Arabs.

It is so difficult to turn a trade from its ancient channel into a new course, that I should be less confident of the success of my speculation, were it not that the circumstances of the present times are particularly favourable. Egypt, whence all supplies were formerly received, is divided into two kingdoms, the upper half under the Beys, and the lower under the Turkish Pacha, without any commercial communication being permitted between them. The Mamelukes are consequently themselves distressed for all European articles, and have none to spare for the supply of Cobbé or Sennaar. The pilgrimage to Mecca having been also put an end to by the conquests of the Wahabee, the great concourse of merchants, who, in fact, only made religion a cloak for their commercial speculations, has ceased to visit Arabia, and my friend, Emir Mohammed

of Suakin, has been obliged to obtain from Mocha, those supplies, which he formerly drew from Jidda. But the difficulties of a longer voyage within the prevalence of the violent monsoons, add greatly to the expense, which was before considerable, from the necessity of passing over a dreary desert for nearly six hundred miles, in order to reach Sennaar; so that there can be little doubt, that the European and Indian goods might find their way through Abyssinia to the same place, incumbered with much less charge for carriage, as well as for prime cost. The old sources of trade being completely annihilated, it is evident that new ones must be sought for. Great Britain, as producing every suitable article within her own dominions, and being mistress of the sea, has certainly the power to succeed to Egypt, in the advantage of supplying the interior of Africa; but I feel it a duty again to repeat, that if she do not, the French will; for I know from undoubted authority, that the attention of the Government of the Isle of France has been already called to my discoveries.

In order that the reader's attention may not be called back to Abyssinia, which I am now about to leave, I think it right in this place to lay before them the information which I have received since my return to England.

On the arrival of Captain Court at Mocha, he found a letter lying there from Pearce, dated on the 28th of February 1806, giving an account of his continuing in good health, and rapidly advancing in acquiring the language. He was in high favour with the Ras, who had placed him immediately under the protection of Ozoro Tishai,

with whom he lived, and who treated him with the utmost kindness, assuring him that she would, at any time that he might wish, send him to her friends at Gondar; whither she intended to retire herself, if any thing should happen to the Ras. The divisions still continued between the provinces; but the Ras had made a truce with the Galla, and had assembled all his forces to march to Gondar, and liberate the King from the controul of Guxo, who is supposed to be a Mussulmaun. The governors of several provinces had joined the Ras on this occasion, and the clergy universally supported him. This letter Devajé attempted to suppress; but fortunately it had been delivered to him in the presence of another person, who gave notice of it to Captain Court. This was evidently the result of those suspicions with which the inhabitants of Mocha, and particularly the Banians, beheld my attempts to cultivate an intercourse with Abyssinia, which they justly considered as likely to annihilate their monopoly.

It was with the deepest regret that I learned, by the same letter, the untimely end of Mr. Carter. Mr. Pringle having departed from Mocha, in consequence of orders from the Government of India, who had considered any connection with Arabia as useless and expensive, Mr. Carter proceeded to Aden, where he was induced, by an American Captain, Orme, who commanded the ship Essex, to accept the situation of supercargo in her, and go up to Loheia to procure a cargo of coffee. Seid Mohammed Akil having procured permission to fortify the island of Camaran, had rapidly advanced in his settlement, but kept his ship with him. Off the island he fell in with the Essex, and, professing great regard for the Americans, offered his services, not only to show them the way to Loheia, but

also to send on board some of his slaves, to assist the small crew of the Essex in working her up to that place. In an unfortunate hour the offer was accepted; and the same night the twenty Caffres murdered the Captain, Mr. Carter, and every white man on board, and threw their bodies into the sea. In the morning the Seid came on board, took out the treasure, amounting, as it is said, to one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, and then scuttled the ship. Poor Carter's body was washed on shore, where it was found, and recognised by Hyder, who was my servant during my first voyage in the Red Sea. He mentioned it to Captain Court; in consequence of which the Dola threatened his life; and so alarmed him, that he escaped on board the Panther, with a determination to leave his wife and children, his parents and country, and depart for India. This was not what the Dola wished: he therefore applied to Devajé, who offered himself as security, that Hyder should not be injured either in his person or property. This was considered as satisfactory by the lad; but Captain Court thought it advisable to state, in the strongest terms, to the Dola, that he considered Hyder as entitled to the protection of the British Government, and that they would certainly resent any injury offered to him, for having reported the cruel fate of a British subject. Seid Mahommed Akil, I fear, still exists unpunished; and as a retreat is ever open to him in Arabia, there are but little hopes of his meeting with the fate he merits. The Mornington and Ternate were sent from Bombay to seize him, and to drive him and his allies the French from Camaran; but he had timely intelligence of their destination, and quitted the island, leaving but little vestige of his having been there.

It was some counterbalance to this unfortunate intelligence, that

very favourable accounts were received from Massowah by Emir Mohammed, who met Captain Court at Mocha. The Nayib, roused at length by the repeated insults he received from his brothers, applied to Jidda for assistance, and, having obtained some troops, attacked and conquered the Dola of Arkeko, reducing his turbulent followers to subjection. The Sirdar of the Ascari was sent to Jidda, and the Nayib requested Emir Mohammed to assure me, through Devajé, that he was a real friend of the English; that he never had sanctioned the demands of his brothers; and that he had seen, with unfeigned regret, the hostilities which had taken place, and of which I shall give an account in the following chapter. He expressed a hope that every thing would be forgotten, and that the English would trust to his friendship, now that he had recovered the power of protecting them. This intelligence, I own, gave me the greatest satisfaction, as I ever felt a regard for the Nayib, in defiance of the disapprobation, which the timidity of his conduct could not but frequently excite.

On my arrival in England, I felt it my duty to wait on the Court of Directors of the East India Company, and to lay a memorial before them, stating my ideas on the trade of the Red Sea, on the advantages which might be derived from it, and the establishment which would be necessary to carry it on. It seems probable that they differed from me in opinion on all these points, for America has been permitted to carry on the trade uninterruptedly, to the exclusion of the British. The President and Board of Trade listened, however, with considerable attention to the application of Messrs. Jacob, who, being convinced by the statement which I have laid before the public, were anxious to send a vessel direct to the Red Sea. I

have understood that the Chairman of the India Company, on being applied to, to know whether they intended to put any part of my plan into execution, declared they did not, believing it to be chimerical, and founded on no real knowledge of trade. Such being their opinion and intentions, they could not reasonably object to granting a license to Mr. Jacob, to trade direct to Abyssinia, who accordingly obtained one, though fettered with many restrictions. He laid in a cargo according to my recommendation; and I feel confident, that the result of his voyage will be a conviction in every impartial mind, that my statements have been correct, and that the India Company have for many years neglected the most profitable trade within their charter.

The letter which Mr. Salt brought down for the King of Great Britain from the Emperor of Abyssinia, had been delivered by me to Lord Spencer, when Secretary of State for the Home Department, and by him laid before his Majesty, together with the present of fine Habesh cloth. On its being definitively settled that Mr. Jacob's ship should go the Red Sea, I stated all these circumstances to Mr. Canning, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and represented the advantages which, I thought, would result from conciliating the King of Abyssinia, and thereby excluding the French from obtaining any influence in that part of Africa. I also took the liberty of suggesting, that as his Majesty had been pleased to receive the letter, and accept the presents of the Emperor, it was but decorous, that some notice should be taken of them, when an English vessel was going direct to his ports.

Insignificant as the Abyssinian monarch might appear, the haughty sovereigns of Spain had corresponded with them at dif-

ferent times, and had treated them as equals, by giving them the title of Brother. James the First of England had written to his contemporary; and his letter, on this occasion, furnished a precedent for his Majesty's. The wishes of Ayto Galoo, the King, were, that a person should be sent to him who understood raising water, a medical man, and a carpenter. It was, unfortunately, not possible to comply with these requests by a merchant vessel; but I was directed by Mr. Canning, to prepare such presents as I thought would be acceptable, and would, at the same time, serve as specimens of our finer manufactures.

It being considered decorous that his Majesty's letter should be delivered by a gentleman sent for that purpose, I pointed out Mr. Salt, as by far the most eligible person, from his having been already in the country, from his amiable manners, and respectable character. He was accordingly appointed; and I made all possible haste in preparing the presents, which consisted of arms after the fashion of the country, but ornamented with gold and jewels; satins, cut glass, painted glass, jewelry, and fine British muslins, in the whole amounting to about fourteen hundred pounds; a sum inconsiderable in England, but which, when laid out in the above articles, has procured an assortment of novelties, that will surpass all which the court of Abyssinia has beheld since the time of Yasous the Great, and will certainly impress the present monarch with a favourable idea of the power and riches of his new ally.

A more useful and highly important part of the presents was, two pieces of curricle artillery, with the harness complete, one hundred and fifty rounds of ball, and a quantity of powder. If these should reach Antalow in safety, the Ras will be able to march from

one end of Habesh to the other without meeting an enemy, as may be easily supposed, for a cannon has not been seen there since the time of the Portuguese; and the sound alone would terrify a race of people, who have never heard a louder explosion than that of a matchlock. That the connection with England may tend to tranquillize Abyssinia, and restore it to its former independence, is the wish nearest my heart, and that such a result is now likely to take place seems extremely probable. The communication being once opened, I trust that it will never be closed by the baneful spirit of monopoly, and that the interests of individuals will not be permitted to interfere with the truly British objects of greatly increasing our foreign trade, and at the same time benefiting, in every point of view, an amiable, oppressed, and, what ought to have still greater weight, a Christian country. Mr. Salt departed for Abyssinia the end of February 1809.

I have annexed to my Chart of the Red Sea, a map of that part of Abyssinia, through which Mr. Salt travelled, as laid down by himself, chiefly from the daily observations of the bearings of his journey. I have also felt it my duty to mark the track of Mr. Bruce, as given by himself. The very great difference between the two, requires that I should state to the public some circumstances, which may enable them to judge of the credit safely to be given to the observations of Mr. Salt. Fortunately for him, Taranta, which lies close to Dixan, is visible from Massowah. The bearings of it were frequently taken by Captain Court, and perfectly confirmed the important fact, that it lay nearly due south from that place. This being so, it is impossible that Dixan should be where Mr. Bruce has placed it; indeed his own journal is as irreconcileable with his

map, as Mr. Salt's. He states, in his fifth Book, Chapter III. that on leaving Arkeko, he took his road southward; that it continued in that direction till he had passed Shillokeeb, when he turned westward through the mountains, and reached Hamhama. Unfortunately, he does not afterwards state his bearings, but reached Zila, at the foot of the mountain, where he finds a rivulet, and declares that he had constantly ascended since he left Arkeko.

According to the map it would nevertheless appear, that he had constantly, from his leaving Arkeko, moved to the eastward, till he reached Zila, on the sea shore, when he had again turned to the west. I need not observe, that his having constantly ascended during a journey of fifty miles, is incompatible with Zila's being on the sea shore, and having a current of fresh water running near it; nor can his own description of the neighbourhood be reconciled with a maritime position. Mr. Bruce's journal, and his own chart, differ also in a very unaccountable manner; Dixan is given by him, at the end of the chapter above mentioned, as lying in latitude 14° 57′ 55″ north, and longitude 40° 7′ 30″ east of Greenwich; but in the chart it is laid down in latitude 15° 9′ north, and longitude 39° 52′ east. It would be difficult to account for this contradiction, but it is unnecessary, both positions being due S. E. of Massowah, and therefore equally erroneous; for in that direction Ras Gedam rises to a height, that precludes the possibility of Taranta, or even a much more lofty mountain, being seen at a distance of sixty miles; but to the westward of Gedam, a valley runs all the way to the foot of Taranta, along which this object may be seen from Massowah, in, as I have before stated, a southerly direction.

The real situation of Dixan is, I conceive, sufficiently ascertained

to be where Mr. Salt has placed it, which I am the more anxious to put beyond controversy, as it is impossible to have equal evidence of the authenticity of the other parts of his map, and which also widely differ from Bruce, particularly in the distance between Adowa and Fremona. If, however, in the track from Massowah to Dixan Mr. Salt is proved to be accurate, I conceive that he is fairly intitled to credit, and that credit may be still more strongly corroborated by the positive evidence of gross errors in those by whom he is contradicted. In addition to the facts above stated respecting Zila, as laid down by Mr. Bruce on the sea shore, the account of Fremona, as given by him, will enable any person to judge of the credit due to his geographical observations.

In the map, Fremona is laid down as distant thirty miles from Adowa, yet he himself visited it from that place, as he says, on the 10th of January; which seems to imply, that it was not so far off, as to require a journey to reach it, and describes it as situated "in the middle of a large plain, on the opposite side of which stands Adowa," which, if the distance be correct in the map, would make the plain extend for sixty miles in each situation! although in the beginning of the same chapter he observes, that "Adowa is situated on the declivity of a hill, on the west side of a small plain, surrounded every where by mountains." In these two descriptions we again discover contradictions, which I believe no advocate of Mr. Bruce will attempt to reconcile; but till it is done, I conceive I have a right to claim, that his assertions shall not be adduced as throwing any doubt on the accuracy of Mr. Salt's observations. Antalow, the limit of Mr. Salt's journey, is placed in 12° 45′, from several observations made by Mr. Carter, which was confirmed by

the daily distances, and by a computation of the journeys made by the Jesuits from the Red Sea, whose route was at right angles with Mr. Salt's, but which perfectly accorded with it.

As it is possible that the accuracy of Mr. Bruce's latitudes in the Red Sea may be adduced as a ground for giving a greater degree of credit to him than to Mr. Salt, I think it right to add a copy of those latitudes; in another line the latitudes as given by Mr. Niebuhr; and in a third, the real positions that have been since ascertained.

	Mr. Bruce.	Niebuhr.	The True.
	° ′ ″	° ′	° ′ ″
1 Jibbel Zumrud	25 3 0 N	—	23 48
2 Macowar	24 2 0	—	20 38
3 Ras Mahommed	27 54	27 54	
4 Yambo	24 3 35	24 5	
5 Djar	23 36	23 36	
6 El Horma	23 30 30		
7 Rabac	22 46	22 45	
8 Jidda	21 28	21 28	
9 Konfodah	19 7	19 7	
10 Ras Heli	18 36	18 36	
11 Kotumbal	17 57	17 57	
12 Djezan	16 45	16 45	
13 Duime	16 12 5		
14 Camaran	15 39	—	15° 30′ N. extrem. 15 18 S. extrem.
15 Bab-el-Mandeb	12 39 26	12 38	12 39
16 Crab Island	13 2 45		
17 Loheia	15 40 52	15 42	15 42
18 Ras Asab	13 5		

	Mr. Bruce.	Niebuhr.	The True.
	° ′ ″	° ′	° ′ ″
19 Fusht	15 59 43		
20 Jibbel Tier	15 38	—	15 35
21 The Bank	15 28 15		
22 Racka Garbia	15 31 30		
23 Dobelew	15 42 22	—	15 42
24 Ras Shouke	15 27 30	—	15 33
25 Ras Antalow	15 54 30	—	15 50
26 Massowah	15 35 5	—	15 35 30

To any person accustomed to nautical observations, it must appear most singular, that seven of the above latitudes should agree precisely with those given by Mr. Niebuhr, though the one was travelling by land, and the other by sea. Even with the excellent instruments which are now used, it frequently occurs that, in the same vessel, in calculations made on the same data, the result differs by a mile; how astonishing, then, must it appear, that with different instruments, and certainly more imperfect ones, the result should here be the same. It is equally extraordinary that Mr. Bruce, in a coasting voyage, should invariably find it convenient to ascertain the latitude of those places only in Arabia, which Mr. Niebuhr had before given to the public, in a work which Mr. Bruce refers to in speaking of Mocha, while he passes over many others of equal, if not greater importance. Rabac differs from Mr. Niebuhr's latitude only one mile; Yambo only a little more; Duime is not mentioned by him, nor El Horma; but the former Mr. Bruce owns he passed in the night, and does not even pretend to have made any observation to ascertain it; and the latter he describes as being close to Muſtura, which is laid down by Niebuhr in 23° 5′ N.

Could any doubt remain after this, that Mr. Bruce had copied the latitudes in Arabia from Mr. Niebuhr, it would be removed by the publication of the original observations of the former gentleman, in the second edition of his travels, in which the situation of not one of these places appears to have been even attempted to be ascertained, except Yambo, Jidda, and Loheia.

Of the remaining observations, those respecting Jibbel Zumrud, Macowar, and Camaran, are completely false; of the islands eastward of Dhalac we have no opportunity of judging; and of those below Loheia it appears probable he was not the author; nor indeed is it probable that he actually made the voyage he has described to the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb. This has been placed in so strong a light, by the anonymous author whom I have before mentioned, that I shall give his observations nearly in his own words.*

" On the 27th of July, 1769, Mr. Bruce, according to his travels, sailed from Loheia in the Red Sea, upon a voyage of observation to the Straits of Bab-el-Mandel, from which he returned to Loheia on the 6th of August. On the 5th of August, however, the very day preceding his return, two observations taken at Loheia appear in his journals, (vol. vii. p. 356,) in which there is no notice whatever of three observations taken during the voyage, and inserted in his travels (vol. ii. p. 208, 217). Mr. Bruce, in a letter given in the appendix to the second edition of his travels, says, " We left Jidda the beginning of July. The beginning of August we arrived at Loheia. Here we waited till the end of September, when we embarked on board a small boat from Massoua. In this second voyage across the Red Sea," (vol i. p. 279,) yet this would have

* Monthly Magazine, December, 1807, p. 549.

been the third, had he really performed an intermediate voyage from Loheia to the Straits of Bab-el-Mandel. The editor justly observes, that "Mr. Bruce does not mention here his southern excursion;" (ibid) but takes no notice of the equally striking fact that Luigi Balugani is also silent, who was employed to keep the journals from their leaving Cosseir; and the first is, "Viagio di Cossair, à Jimbo, ed à Gidda; 2° Viagio di Gedda à Locheia; 3° Viagio di Locheia à Massoua," &c. containing the routes and distances measured by time; but not the least intimation is given of the pretended voyage to the straits of Bab-el-Mandel (vol i. p. 364)."

He adds in a note, "the voyage to the Straits was probably taken from a ship's journal, obtained through the same channel, and adapted by Mr. Bruce to his own adventures. As a proof of this, the observations are made with a Hadley's sextant or ship's quadrant, as it is called, an instrument which Mr. Bruce did not possess, but which would have been far more useful and portable than the large and unwieldy French quadrant which he carried to Abyssinia. That quadrant is fit only for a very able astronomer; Mr. Blunt, the optician, who had this instrument to repair, informs me, that it was so incorrect in its formation, that a good observation could not be taken with it; but Bruce was enraged, when told by Herschel, that Hadley's sextant would have served every purpose much better. His fictitious voyage, to the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, was probably suggested by Irwin's voyage up the Red sea, published in 1780."

Facts stated by an anonymous author, certainly ought to be received with caution; but no name is requisite to give weight to his arguments, particularly if they be equally conclusive with those I

have just quoted, and which, I think, prove incontrovertibly that Mr. Bruce never was below Loheia.

The chart of the Red Sea by Monsieur De La Rochette, was republished by Mr. Faden in 1781, with many additions by Colonel Capper. This, though far superior to the chart of Monsieur D'Apres de Manevillette, had many errors, by all of which Mr. Bruce was misled in his fictitious voyage. He reaches the Island of Rasab at five in the morning, passes Camaran at six, at twelve passes a low round island, and at one is off Cape Israel. This, according to Faden's chart, is perfectly correct, but unfortunately Camaran is nearer to Loheia than Rasab: and instead of its being a six hour's voyage from Camaran to Cape Israel, they are not above three miles asunder. The anchoring on a shoal, which lies immediately east of the north fort of Mocha, where no shoal actually is; his description of Perim, as five miles long and two miles broad, when in fact it is only three miles long and not one broad; his assertion, that the narrow Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb are two leagues wide, when in fact they are not one; his calling the islands in the great Straits low, when in fact they are lofty rocks; and his account of the chain of hills along the African shore, when the hills are single, and at a great distance from each other, are errors which a person who had visited the spot, could never have fallen into. Crab Island had been named and placed in the chart of 1780, by De La Rochette; from its position, it is probably designed for one of the small islands near Ras Firmah; but it is given of a much greater size than it really is.

It is a consolation to my feelings as an Englishman, that this voyage is so evidently a fiction; and the real friends of Mr. Bruce

ought also to rejoice, that the opprobrium is removed from his character, of having wantonly attempted to murder the innocent Samaulies, at Assab Bay, and having probably succeeded in his attempt.

No one, I trust, will assert, that the idea of his being on the very spot where the crew of the Elgin were murdered, and the more improbable conjecture of his being in company with the very people who had committed the murder, could be any justification of the firing on thirty men, who quietly kept at a distance, according to his orders, while some of their party placed themselves, with unlimited confidence, in his power, answered his questions, and endeavoured to supply his wants. I cannot, in his own story, find the least grounds for his suspicions or alarm; and even if the tale itself be a romance, the feelings which he professes must have been his own. This is too strongly exemplified by many of his former adventures; first at Thebes,* where he declares that "he was resolved upon revenge;" and accordingly not only fired his own gun where the voices were heard, but also "took his servant's blunderbuss, and discharged it where he heard a howl" (4to. Vol. i. p. 199). Secondly, when he applied to Ibrahim, Sheik of the Ababdé, and received a promise from him that "Hassan should not die in his bed." And, thirdly, at Traitor's Island, when he hesitated whether he should not shoot the unfortunate Arabian, who did not understand his language, and feared to trust himself with a stranger, who was better armed than himself.

It is greatly to be lamented, that a man of Mr. Bruce's talents should have given way to a vanity, which has caused his book to

* Dhalac, Vol. I. p. 135.

partake more of romance than reality. The difficulties which opposed his progress must have been sufficiently great to have obtained for him the just praise of perseverance and courage; and the country through which he travelled, afforded novelty that must have excited the interest of every reader; yet as it is, he has so mixed the truth with the falsehood, that it is impossible to separate them; and the deceptions which have been exposed, where any traveller has followed him, give but too much reason to fear, that the same would be the result, were a person of veracity to visit Ras-el-Feel, or Sennaar.

The translation which he has given of the chronicles of Axum, is interesting, and I believe faithful: but the account of the descent from Solomon is now proved to be false, by the inscription at Axum; the theories of the victories of Ptolemy fall before the same evidence; and his worship of the Dog-star at this capital of Abyssinia, vanishes, with the proofs adduced by him of the many remains of their pedestals and statues.

If Mr. Bruce be proved incorrect by the discoveries of Mr. Salt, and the ascertaining that the reliques of ancient magnificence at Axum have no resemblance to Egyptian architecture, it is satisfactory to find, that the authenticity of the author of the Periplûs is confirmed in an equal degree, by the proof that, so late as the reign of Aeizanas, a king who spoke Greek remained on the throne of Zoskales, and ruled over the same country.

It is also satisfactory to know, that the Christians of Abyssinia, however they may have fallen from the purity of the religion they profess, are not the monsters of cruelty and depravity which Mr. Bruce describes them, and that their country is not so inacces-

sible to Europeans as he represents, I fear, for the purpose of preventing others from following his steps, conscious, as he must have been, that his own exposure would be the inevitable consequence of an impartial person's comparing his romantic account, with the real habits, manners, and condition of the Abyssinians.

CHAPTER VIII.

Departure from Massowah.—Danger of the Panther during a heavy gale from the North.—Narrow escape from Shipwreck, with the loss of all the Anchors, on Lightning Shoal.—Return to Massowah.—Disputes with the Ascari.—Hostilities with the Inhabitants of Arkeko.—Voyage to Jidda.—Transactions there.

CHAPTER VIII.

NOVEMBER 14, 1805.—WITH the land breeze we left Massowah; but it was five before we reached Dohool, in consequence of light airs and calms. We went to the east side of the island, where we were obliged to anchor at the distance of a mile from the shore on a hard sand, there being only a few feet water when closer in. We let go in a quarter less than three, and wore out only half a cable, yet the vessel struck in two and a half: this was owing to the swell, for we did not draw so much. After hauling off, we put out our stream anchor ahead, and lay very comfortably all night.

November 15.—Captain Court and Mr. Salt went on shore: they found the island in a wretched state for want of rain: the sheep and cattle were half starved, but there was plenty of water in a natural tank. This the people willingly let us have, but it was with the greatest difficulty they could be made to bring down their sheep and sell them; always starting some new objection, that the owner was not there, or that they did not know how to sell them. The truth seemed to be, that they had formerly received instructions from the Nayib, when Captain Court was last there, not to supply him, and they did not know whether they ought now to let us have them. By inquiries we learned that their subjection to the Nayib was merely nominal; they pay him nothing, but when they visit Massowah they take a present of sheep or goats. He appoints

one of themselves to an office something like Dola, who is changed annually. We weighed at three, and stood round the south end of the island.

November 19.—Till yesterday morning the winds, though hanging to the N. of E. enabled us to make tolerable way. The sky then began to darken, and the wind to freshen. We were running along by a new chain of islands off Port Mornington, which we named Duncan's islands, in compliment to the benevolent Governor of Bombay. Between these we understood were several passages out into the open channel.

We were within fifteen miles of the track of the Panther in 1795, when the wind freshened so much from the northward, as to oblige us to lie to, in hopes of keeping our own till morning. We had on our former voyage run along at a small distance from the main land, and thought all was clear between that and the islands. We drifted gradually to the S. W. keeping the lead going. It lightened very violently, and about eleven, by a very vivid flash, Captain Court discovered we were drifting on a shoal, and at the same time the soundings were fourteen fathom. We instantly let go the small bower—veered out two-thirds of a cable, and let go the best bower under foot. We now thought ourselves safe, and Captain Court congratulated me on the Panther's riding so well at anchor as to leave us nothing to fear, though it blew very fresh, and a very heavy sea was rolling in. However, before one, we parted from the small bower; we instantly veered out the whole of the best bower cable, and dropped the sheet anchor with a new cable, and veered out thirty fathom. In doing this, the hand of one of the poor Lascars got jammed in, and was severely bruised. At three

our alarms were greatly increased by the best bower's parting. Our only hopes now were that the sheet anchor, the whole cable of which we veered out, would hold till morning; our little stream anchor could otherwise be of no use. The swell and wind were greatly increased, so as to render rest impossible; nor could our dead lights protect the cabin from the sea, which worked in by the violent pitching of the vessel. Morning at length came, but not to bring us comfort. We discovered that we were in a kind of bay, formed by two reefs, and a sandy island at the bottom. It was so hazy that we could not distinguish whether or no there might be a small passage on either side of it. The sea broke so as to render it difficult at a distance to distinguish it from breakers. There was every reason to fear that no passage existed, as the ground under us was extremely foul. Should our anchor part, it was, as the wind then blew, impossible to weather either point of the reef; we could therefore only trust to Providence. I own, that the dread of such another night as the last; the certainty that if the cable did part in the night, nothing could save us all from destruction; the little hopes that it could hold in foul ground with an increasing swell and an undiminished gale, made me almost wish that ere night our anxiety might be ended. There was then a hope, though a faint one, that our lives might be saved, though the vessel were lost, by at once laying her ashore on the island which we then supposed to be one of Wellesley's islands. At a quarter past twelve the expected event took place. Captain Court was cool and collected. He said to me, taking my hand, alas! poor Panther! nothing can save you—we must now be all broken together, and do the best we can for each other. He accordingly determined to

run for the island. The men, both white and black, were active and steady. The sails were set most expeditiously, and we all looked with an anxious heart to our approaching danger. We attempted first to weather the western reef, but finding that impossible, wore round for the sandy island. At that moment Captain Court perceived the wind had changed a point, and instantly determined to try and weather the eastern reef, which before the change was impossible.

In a heavy gale, which carried us gunwale under water, we had the felicity of passing the point of the reef, on which the sea broke tremendously, at the distance of only two cables length. Our first sensations were those of joy for our escape, and gratitude to that almighty Being, who had so wonderfully preserved us, in the moment of otherwise certain destruction, by the change of wind. When, however, we became a little calm, other and very painful feelings obtruded themselves. We had lost four anchors and cables; we had only a spare one left in the hold without a stock. To venture to Jidda in such a situation was impossible—to run into Port Mornington without an anchor was equally so. Our first idea was to return to Massowah, and send a dow to Mocha to communicate our distress, and try to procure relief. Our fresh provisions were nearly out, and our salt store was so small as to render the using them a very serious business. We therefore put before the wind—as we advanced, and found it did not diminish, we had hopes it might, as on a former occasion, carry us all the way to Mocha—we therefore determined to make a trial.

We called the whole crew aft, and returning them our thanks for their excellent behaviour, I gave them a present of one hundred

dollars from myself, and Captain Court the same sum in the name of the Company.

We saw poor Unus Barilla when we lay to, but never afterwards. We could not but be extremely alarmed for his safety, though we greatly hoped he bore away for the south, in which case he had nothing to fear. We found by the observation at twelve, that this shoal, which we called Lightning shoal, from its having been seen in a vivid flash, is ten miles north of Port Mornington, and lies detached. There was a pilot's mark on one end of it.

November 24.—As we reached Massowah the wind died away. We did not wish to lose time in going in, so only lay to, and in the morning fired three guns as a signal for Unus, in case he should be there. As we saw nothing of him, we were more alarmed for his safety.

November 25.—As we advanced southward, we found the wind came round against us, so that we only reached the latitude of Amphila on the 24th.—At night it came on to blow so heavy a gale from the S. E. with a violent swell, that we were obliged to lay to. On consultation between Captain Court, Lieutenant Hardy, and myself, on the deck, about eleven, it was deemed advisable to recur to our first intention, and bear away for Massowah; but instead of entering that narrow harbour, to anchor in Arkeko bay, where there is an excellent mud bottom. We decided on this from the idea that it was improbable we could make Mocha against the heavy gales, which we now found blew between us and that place, and that we were losing time in not communicating our distress by a dow, in case we should be ultimately driven back. Yesterday morning, as we passed Valentia, we perceived Mr. Pringle's boat

coming out to us: we bore up, and soon joined her. We found that Devajé had supposed her return to be contrary to Mr. Pringle's orders, and had therefore directed Abdulcauder again to set off for Massowah, where he had arrived eight days ago; that he had no money, and had applied to Currum Chund, who refused to advance him a dollar; that the Nayib had then ordered him to quit Massowah harbour, or he would put him in prison. We anchored in eleven fathom, mud, with our only anchor, about eight o'clock.

November 26.—I sent Andrew on shore in the jolly boat; Mr. Crawfurd had orders to permit no other man to land. I directed him to see Hadje Hassan, to tell him, and the Nayib, if at Massowah, that I was come to enquire for Unus, and to beg to know if he had heard any thing of him; also to desire Hadje Hassan to procure us fresh provisions and water, and to come on board himself. In the evening they returned. The Nayib was at Arkeko, so that Hadje Hassan could not come, but said he had sent to the Nayib for permission, and would be off in the morning with fresh provision. Some people had pelted Mr. Crawfurd, and one of the custom-house people had asked him what business the boat had there, and ordered him never to come again. He brought off the naqueda of a dow belonging to Hodeida, who offered to carry letters for us to that place, and accompany Mr. Pringle's long boat. We agreed for thirty dollars, and that he should send his brother thence with the letters by land, who should receive twenty dollars on his reaching Mocha. We gave Abdulcauder money to buy provisions for Mr. Pringle's people; and as the Nayib's conduct was so hostile, to keep peace, if possible, I did not again send our boat

on shore with Andrew, but sent him in the long boat, in which there were none but natives.

Andrew and the boat returned early in the morning, with the information that none of them had been permitted to land, and that the naqueda of the dow had been seized for coming to us without permission. Andrew was given to understand, that the Sirdar of the Ascari had heard of our distress, and that he flattered himself with the hope, that by cutting off all supplies of fresh provisions and water, and by preventing any person from carrying our letters to Mocha, he should oblige us to surrender to him the large property which the Panther was supposed to contain.

I immediately consulted with Captain Court on the measures which it would be proper to pursue. The imprisoning of the Hodeida naqueda, and the seizing his boat, were evidently acts of open hostility, as the man was in our immediate service, and, consequently, under our protection. It was therefore determined that we should endeavour to liberate him, by securing one of the market boats, which passed daily from Arkeko to Massowah; for this purpose the cutter and long boat were manned with Europeans, and armed.

The boats appeared about two on their return, when Mr. Denton gave chase in the cutter, having received positive orders from Captain Court not to fire on them, unless hostilities were commenced by them, and on no account to land, either on the island or main. On perceiving the cutter approach, the natives made for the nearest shore, when Mr. Denton, finding he could not overtake them, inconsiderately fired two guns over their heads to bring them to; which they could not understand as a signal, but con-

sidered as an act of hostility. The first boat reached the shore, and the men escaped; but a second boat was behind and might have been secured; unfortunately, however, Mr. Denton, unmindful of his orders, and hurried on by the heat of youth, landed and followed the crew who had fled towards Arkeko.

We could easily distinguish from the ship, that the Ascari were running out from Arkeko, and that our people were advancing to meet them. Extremely alarmed for their safety, lest they should be overpowered by numbers, we immediately sent off Mr. Crawfurd in the long-boat, armed with wall pieces, to support them. A firing soon began between the parties on shore; when, in hopes to alarm the enemy, we fired several shot towards them, which reached the shore, but not the town, having hoisted the signal for the boats to return. This was at length obeyed, and we were rejoiced to find that not one man had been wounded belonging to the Panther, nor have I reason to suppose that much mischief was done to the subjects of the Nayib, for the boat's crew, in their impatience to land, had leaped into the water, and spoiled their cartridges; consequently, had they been pursued, many must have been cut off.

I was extremely mortified at this failure of our attempt to secure a hostage for our naqueda, and a medium of communication with the Nayib, who might possibly be ignorant of the conduct of his people at Massowah. I was also vexed at the apparent inferiority of our party, who might be considered as retiring defeated, which would diminish greatly that awe which the idea of the power of our fire arms had inspired. I was unwilling to leave them, even for a day, under this impression; but it was thought advisable to

run to Valentia, and secure a supply of fresh provisions, before the inhabitants of that place could hear of hostilities, and then to return and prevent all communication between Massowah and Arkeko, till the Ascari, and their Sirdar, were brought to their senses, and delivered up to us our naqueda, and liberated his dow.

November 28.—We began to get up our anchor at three in the morning, but the land wind was so stiff, that it was daylight before we were under sail; and I was even, at one time, afraid that we should have lost our solitary anchor. The day was remarkably calm till evening, when a strong breeze set in from the eastward, and obliged us to give up all hopes of weathering the northern point of Valentia, and reaching the anchorage off the village, where alone we could procure provisions.

Captain Court wished much to push on to Port Mornington, where fresh provisions were equally procurable, and if the favourable breeze should continue, to run every hazard of being reduced to short allowance, and try to reach Jidda. The chance of this banished from our minds all ideas of resentment, and we trusted, that when their hopes of our being obliged to surrender were removed from the minds of the Ascari by our departure, all motives for detaining the naqueda and his dow would be at an end, and he would of course obtain his liberty. As Mr. Pringle's boatmen could, without our aid, procure nothing, and as they were too ignorant to navigate the boat to Mocha with European sails, we determined to take them in tow to Jidda, and send them thence in a larger vessel. It was dark when we once again bore away for Port Mornington, leaving our enemies at Massowah to make what conjectures they pleased on our sudden disappearance.

December 1st.—The wind came round on the 29th to the southward, which determined us to lose no time at Port Mornington, but take advantage of so favourable a wind. We lay to last night, and early this morning bore away for the straits, leaving Lightning Shoal to the eastward, and making directly for Tella Tella. We kept the lead constantly going, and found, in general, a good mud bottom, with plenty of water; but, occasionally, very sudden overfalls. To the eastward were several islands, forming a continuation of Duncan's Islands, between which and Tella we passed into the open sea, through a channel about seven miles wide. The ascertaining of this passage was a satisfactory conclusion of our discoveries, as it was alone necessary to prove the great value of Port Mornington. It is now certain, that that noble harbour is accessible from the main sea, and that no danger awaits the navigation, except near Lightning Shoal, which, when once known, is easily avoided.

It would have given me great satisfaction to have surveyed the coast from Macouar to Cosseir, which, I believe, has been totally neglected since the time of Don Juan de Castro. If the ruins of Berenice Pancrysos actually exist in Foul Bay, a visit to them would be particularly interesting; and in the harbour mentioned by the Portuguese admiral, as lying between 24° and 26° north, the port of Myos Hormos may probably be looked for with success by some future navigator. The crazy state of the Panther limited our ambition to arriving in safety at Suez. The coast above mentioned is of little importance to navigators, and the headlands are already laid down with sufficient accuracy.

December 6th.—After quitting the straits on the 1st, we were

tormented by strong gales from the N. E. and N. W. On the night of the 3d, after a heavy fall of rain for two hours, it blew so fresh as to oblige us to lie under our bare poles, while the swell was so great as to preclude the possibility of keeping in our cots. The morning of the 4th brought with it but little consolation, for the gale continued; and the idea of the northerly winds prevailing at this season, excited a well grounded alarm as to our future voyage. It moderated towards evening, and only left a very heavy swell. On the 5th, at night, it was less; and on the 6th, it was calm, which gave us some chance of a fair wind. We were not forty miles from Jidda, and therefore hoped that a moderate breeze might take us there in the course of the next day. High land was visible to the eastward, in the morning.

December 9th—At length we reached the harbour of Jidda, after having been repeatedly baffled by adverse winds and currents. On the 7th it continued calm till night, when the squalls recommenced with rain, and obliged us to go under double reefed topsails. It blew, however, from the south, and in the morning of the 8th gratified us with a sight of Jidda. The current, which ran at the rate of fifteen miles in twenty-four hours, towards the W. b. N. had taken us to the north of the entrance about three miles; and this short distance we were unable to make in the course of the day, as it blew very fresh. We ran in close to the reef, and fired signal guns, but no pilot came off. In the night we had again very heavy squalls with rain, which obliged us to take in all our sails. The wind came round to the northward in time to bring us off Jidda on the morning of the 9th. On repeating our signals, a pilot came off, and by one o'clock we were safely at anchor. I do not know that

my mind was ever relieved from so great a load as on this occasion. It seemed as if we were ever to be baffled when near a port where assistance could be procured. Our situation was such as to have excited real anxiety. We had no rice nor fresh provisions, and of salt meat or water, not a sufficient quantity to last us a month. I instantly sent Mr. Crawfurd on shore with the letters I received from Seid Dond, to the Vizier, and to Ibrahim Jelani. I desired him to state our wants, and to say that, if agreeable, I would pay a visit to the Vizier on the morrow. He returned in the evening with a very civil answer, that the Vizier would be happy to see me at ten o'clock, and that I might depend on being received with every compliment due to my rank. Jelani said he would do his best to serve us; but that at present every thing was very scarce at Jidda, as the Wahabee were in great force all round the town.

We were delighted to perceive that Unus's little dow was here in perfect safety; he came on board, and informed us that he had been obliged, in the gale, to throw his anchors overboard, but had escaped into Port Mornington, whence he sailed for this place.

December 10.—At ten I left the Panther under a salute of seventeen guns, attended by Captain Court, Captain Rudland, and Mr. Salt. The landing-place was in front of the Vizier's residence. Several of his officers were in waiting to receive me, very handsomely dressed in scarlet English broad cloth, lined with yellow satin. A double line of soldiers reached to the door, and extended to the hall of audience. A salute of three guns was fired as I landed. At the foot of the stairs I was met by the Vizier's secretary, who made his compliments, and preceded me. The whole of the troops made a very respectable appearance. The palace is pleasantly situated close

to the sea, which here forms an inlet, and is nearly surrounded by the walls. The audience chamber had two large windows opposite to each other, about twelve feet long by four wide, and raised a foot from the ground: in both of these were seats covered with carpets, and rich cushions. On the southern were seated three Arabs, who rose up on my entrance, and made their salaams, which I returned. An old fashioned large elbow chair was placed for me opposite to the centre of the window: it was covered with very rich cushions. Plain English chairs were placed for the other gentlemen. Soon afterwards the Vizier, who was a stupid-looking eunuch, entered, with his train borne, and seated himself in one corner of the window. The usual compliments having passed, he lamented our misfortunes, and assured us of every possible assistance from him in retrieving them; but regretted he could do but little, from the scarcity which prevailed. I requested his permission to employ Ibrahim Jelani, and consult with him on the subject. He said he would immediately send to him, and I might go there on my departure from him. Coffee was presented to us, but none of the Mussulmauns took any, as it was Ramadan. He asked respecting the business at Massowah, which he had heard of from the Samaulies of Abdulcauder's boat. I found great difficulty in explaining this, and indeed every thing else, as Andrew's Arabic was of a low cast, and the Vizier spoke the best. He, however, at length understood it, and expressed great resentment at the Nayib's conduct to a friend of the Sheriffe, and the Sultaun of Roum. He said he should write very severely to him, and would make him give a strict account. Rose-water sherbet was presented, which was excellent, with embroidered napkins to wipe our mouths. He expressed a wish that I would write to

the Sheriffe now that I was here. I said I had no secretary for Arabic, nor did I understand it. He replied that his secretary should write any thing I pleased. I said, I would wait on him whenever he pleased, in a more private way, and would talk the subject over with him; at length it was settled I should return from Jelani's. Rose water was now given, and our faces perfumed; after which we took our leave. He did not quit his seat. We were preceded by the same people in scarlet cloaks, who kept off the crowd. As I quitted the palace three more guns were fired, and the soldiers fired their matchlocks. The common people were very civil; and as we passed through the bazar, the elder tradesmen made their salaams. Ibrahim Jelani met me at the door, and conducted me to the place of honour at the corner of the court, seating himself next me. The gentlemen were on chairs facing us. I began by telling him, that I understood he had ever been the friend of the English, and that therefore I should open all our wants to him, and consult with him without reserve. He assured me of his extreme anxiety to render us every service in his power. He promised some rice, hoped he could procure two anchors, and as for water, he said there was plenty that was tolerable, and he would let us have ten casks of good. Sheep were not to be bought, goats were eight and nine dollars, a piece and a bullock thirty or forty. Fish, however, he said, might be had in sufficient quantity, through the medium of the Emir Bahar, to supply our ship's crew. This was a great object to us. He offered us the use of his house during our stay; we therefore settled to remain a few hours with him on the morrow, and arrange every thing. I now asked him whether any presents would expedite our supplies. He said, yes; one hundred dollars to the

slaves of the Vizier. This could only be an excuse for the master; we therefore agreed to give it, and requested him to advance the money, which he instantly did. I then enquired what I ought to give to the different people. He directed thirty dollars to the Ascari, ten to the gunner, five to the Derwan, and five to the chief man who walked before me. I now spoke of the attempt of the French to seize Camaran, and Seid Akîl's assisting them. He said they only waited for his arrival here to seize his ship: that he had here twenty-five thousand dollars and a house. He said the Vizier knew of the business. As he understood Andrew's Arabic, I explained to him the whole Massowah transaction, and requested him to tell it fully to the Vizier. He said he would go with us and do so. We had coffee and sherbet, but he, also, took none. On receiving the rose water we departed. No one was at the Vizier's but his secretary. We had a long conversation on many subjects. He wished much for powder from us, but I positively assured him we had none to spare. The Massowah transaction roused his wrath, and he absolutely squeaked with indignation, declaring he would seize all the dows that arrived thence till they accounted for their misconduct; and this I have no doubt he will do, happy in any pretence to plunder their property. My letter was written and signed: heaven knows the contents, nor did I much care what they were. I was told it contained an account of my arrival, compliments, the transactions at Massowah, and at Camaran, a wish to receive any commands of his for India or Egypt, and a request of assistance for the ship. I promised to stay eight days for an answer, if, in the mean time, they would regularly supply us with fresh provisions or fish, which they undertook to do. They wished to

know if I thought any arms or ammunition might be procured in India; I said I thought there might, and offered my best services in making the application, which were willingly accepted. The Vizier and Jelani both urged very strongly that we should leave them four of our men, who understood the use of great guns. He declared that they should not be tempted to change their religion, and that they should be allowed a house, and be made as comfortable as the place would admit. I assured him we had none to spare, and that even if we had, it was contrary to our laws to dispose of any Englishman who belonged to a ship of war, or to any other, without his own consent, and, that I was sure none of my men wished to leave me. I gave strict injunctions to my servant and Andrew, on my return, not to mention this to any one, as I was by no means so confident as I pretended to be. We had rose water again, when we took our leave. I promised to send an officer with my seal to put it to the Sheriffe's letter; which I did when we reached the ship at five o'clock, heartily tired with the day's work, though every thing had been most satisfactorily conducted, and we had reason to hope a relief from most of our distresses. I was saluted on my return with seventeen guns.

December 11.—I went on shore about ten, landed at the Vizier's quay, and proceeded directly to Jelani. He was waiting to receive me at the door. We more fully detailed our wants. He promised twenty-five bags of rice, which was half the quantity we wanted, and said he would try for the rest. He seemed to speak more hesitatingly on the subject of our supplies; complained of the great scarcity, and told us at once no fire wood was to be had. At length it turned out that we ought to make a present to the Vizier. I was

vexed, but Captain Court and I agreed there was no remedy. Our distresses were such, as to make our obtaining supplies not a matter of convenience, but of necessity. We therefore determined to comply with a good grace. Of my originally large stock of Asiatic articles, I had nothing left but a few shawls, which I knew I should want in Egypt; I therefore requested Jelani to procure the proper articles, which he said ought to be to the amount of three hundred dollars; he immediately produced from his stores some pieces of kincaub and muslin, which would not have cost one hundred and fifty rupees in Bombay, but which were here considered as worth the former sum. These were immediately sent to the Vizier, and every thing was again well. We had heard that there was camel's flesh in the bazar: but that the Vizier should be spoken to, that he might order us a regular supply of forty pounds a day. Though wood was not to be purchased, yet it might be fetched by water in two days: Unus should have a person to attend, and shew him the place. The fishermen should be ordered to stop at the ship as they returned, and offer us what they had. He however informed us, that, in consequence of the siege, a large fish, was, on shore, worth a dollar. He gave us two water melons and some radishes, declaring that there were no other people on earth to whom he would have parted with them. He showed us all his sabres, some of which were very fine: they were all Persian, but some had been lengthened in Egypt at both ends, so as to give the Mameluke point, which cuts both ways. One was watered in straight lines instead of curves: this he valued at one thousand dollars, and declared that the Capitan Pacha himself had not so fine a one. He had also a large stock of guns and pistols.

He sent for his little daughter to shew us; she was extremely fair; and he took off her cap, that we might see her hair was quite brown. He himself is tolerably fair, short, and fat, with a black beard. His grandfather was the first Mussulmaun of the family. He told us that his family were Mograbis, inhabitants of Barbary, opposite to Gibraltar, which they still call Jibbel Teir. Several of his relations were there, and one uncle who was as white as any of us. The room we were received in was flagged, and open at top.—The house was three stories high: at the first floor a curtain was placed, which could be drawn horizontally across. It was open, and permitted us to see the range of latticed windows handsomely carved, which we soon perceived belonged to his Żenana. Several ladies were looking through the holes, but at length they lifted up the window. I was playing at chess with Jelani, whose back was towards them, and only ventured to look up, when I perceived eyes and those of his attendants were fixed on the board. When my eyes met their's they smiled, and turned their heads a little on one side, but did not attempt to move. They were as fair as Europeans, had black hair, eyes, and eyebrows. Their lips were of a most beautiful vermillion: some were so young, that I think they must have been his daughters. Fatima is by one of his wives, who is fair, and was probably one of those we saw. He has a son by a slave, who is very black, but none by his wives. At the opposite end of the room, from which we entered, was a raised room of smaller dimensions, separated partly by a rail; to this was an ascent of two steps. It was covered with a carpet, and had cushions on three sides: on the right, by the rail, was his seat, upon which his box and writing materials were placed: at the end of this room was

a store room, where he kept his money, swords, and other valuables. We were seated as on the first day, in the open room, which had a range of benches on the right and left, covered with green cloth and cushions. I was seated in the left corner from the entrance, on a cloth with a gold border, as a mark of distinction.

The houses in Jidda are far superior to those at Mocha. They are built of large blocks of very fine madrapore. The doorways are handsomely arched, and covered with fret work ornaments carved in the stone, not put on in plaister: the zig zag, so prevalent in the Saxon arch, was the most common. The windows are numerous and large. I could not but be struck with the resemblance which exists between these arches, and those in our cathedrals; some were pointed like the Gothic, including three semicircular windows; others, particularly those which were over the doors, were flat like the Saxon, and retired one within another, till the inner one was sufficiently small to receive the door, which is never large. Jidda is a new town; but these excellent houses are probably formed after the model of the more ancient habitations of Mecca. If so, the architecture we call Gothic existed in Arabia, long before it was known in Europe. The streets are very narrow, which is an advantage in a tropical country, as they are consequently shaded during most part of the day. The palace is very pleasantly situated on the water's edge. The upper story, which we did not enter, seems to contain some excellent rooms, particularly one which terminates a wing running to the west. It is open by balconies to that point, and to the north and south. The custom-house faces the sea, and is a handsome, lofty building. The ground rises from the sea, and gives the town a much better appearance

than Mocha, though it is not so long. The sea also washes its walls at both ends, and is close to the houses in the middle; this adds greatly to the effect. The bazar was well filled, though it was Ramadan; plenty of wheat, pulse, dates, figs, raisins, and bread. The latter was in small cakes, but very good. Jelani gave us some of a finer sort, but it was a little perfumed with carraway seed. Mr. Salt asked for a hookah, and got an excellent one. Captain Court went to see the anchors they proposed for us, but both turned out to be miserable dow grapnels. We had seen one in the water near shore, but could not learn to whom it belonged. They at one time said it was the Vizier's, but that he would not part with it, unless we gave him powder in exchange; this we positively refused. A cable they undertook to make for us. We staid till nearly four. He began then to despair, and gave us a hint to be gone, by producing rose water. We departed, but without our interpreter Andrew, who was gone with the washerman.

I again spoke to Jelani about Seid Akil's ships. He had changed his note. He said he did not believe they were French ships, or that the French had any thing to do with them. He told me the Pacha of Jidda was coming down in a dow, and was expected soon. We looked at the anchor as we came back to the ship, and found it was a tolerable stream anchor.

December 12.—Captain Court went on shore to see what was to be got: he secured one very good grapnel of three hundred weight. They asked why I did not come, and were told that I was unwell. We got our camel's flesh, which was good, and plenty of excellent fish, though dear. Yesterday evening two dows came in from Cosseir with sheep and grain. We bought fifteen of

the former for six dollars each, and were offered the same number at the same price in the morning; but on sending for them we learned they had been all sent on shore. The selling them to us was a trick of the naqueda's. Jelani was very urgent to buy some pistols. The Captain told him there were none on board except common ones—that I indeed had one pair, but those I wanted for for my own protection. He begged at least he might be permitted to see them. The Vizier sent to request the Doctor would visit some of his slaves, who had been wounded by the Wahabee.

December 13.—All the party, except I and Captain Rudland, went on shore. Mr. Macgie had a great many patients, but the slaves were not to be seen, though he went to the palace twice, because the Vizier was asleep. A great many questions were asked about me: why I had been to India, as I was neither an admiral, a general, nor a governor? and what was to be the consequence now I was on my return home? To all this they got very unsatisfactory replies; curiosity they knew nothing about; and it would have been very difficult to persuade them that pleasure brought me so far from home.

In the morning the Emir Bahar came off with an answer from the Sheriffe to my letter. Andrew being on shore, we had no one to translate it; he therefore left it, and said he would come again the next day.

December 15.—The Emir Bahar came off according to his promise, and read the Sheriffe's letter, which Andrew contrived to explain tolerably well. It contained the usual Asiatic compliments, and expressed his satisfaction, that his Vizier had received me in a manner becoming my rank, which he would have done himself had

he been at Jidda. He regretted that he had not the power to punish the Nayib, for Massowah was not his port, but belonged to the Sultaun of Roum. He assured me of his being "all as one with the "English," and that he would write to Sheriffe Hamood of Abou Arish, not to permit the French to have a settlement on Camaran. I presented the Emir Bahar with a piece of embroidered muslin for a turban, and gave his servant five dollars.

I went afterwards on shore, with Mr. Salt and Captain Rudland, to Jelani's, where I again met the Emir Bahar. I complained that we had only received ten casks of water, but was informed that sixteen more were gone off. I next spoke about rice, but could only obtain an equivocal answer, that they did not know, that the Emir Bahar would try; and at length Jelani plainly confessed, that the present we had made to that officer, was not considered by him as sufficiently handsome. We were at his mercy, and I was therefore obliged to promise an addition of a piece of kincaub, if he continued his exertions in our favour. Every thing was now right; twenty-five more bags of rice, a quantity of dol, a boat load of fuel, without sending for it, and as much water as possible was now promised. I tried hard to obtain two large pigs, which I had seen at the Vizier's gate, as being very improper inhabitants of so holy a town, but in vain, for they said the smell of them did their horses good.

I now produced my pair of pistols, which Jelani had requested to see; they were plain, but double-barreled, with gold touch-holes and pans. He instantly besought me to let him have them, saying they were of no value to me; that there was no danger in passing the desart to Cairo; and that there I could get others. He finished

by saying, that, as he should probably never see another Lord here, I ought to give them to him. I was sorry to part with them, only because they were of service to defend myself, having before determined to give him a present of more value; but it was in vain I pleaded my journey, against so conclusive an argument as his last, and was obliged at length to submit. The present being ready for the Vizier, my servant staid to present it at four. The Vizier gave him forty dollars. Jelani asked much if there were no other pistols nor guns on board to be bought, but my servant assured him there were not.

December 17.—I went on shore with Mr. Macgie, who was going to see some of the Vizier's slaves, having received a very civil message from that minister, expressing his regret at his not having been awakened on the former occasion; that he had punished his people for their neglect, and ordered the Doctor's immediate admission if he would call again. I went to Jelani, who was not up, though it was past twelve. Mr. Macgie joined me in about an hour, and gave a melancholy account of his patients, who amounted to above one hundred. A few of these had been wounded by the Wahabee, but the greater number was suffering under dreadful ulcers, which they never wash, nor the rags that are over them, but leave them there for months: he urged the necessity of cleanliness, and a frequent change of plaisters, which he taught them how to make and spread. Jelani had formerly procured from us some flints and powder; he now begged some more of the former, which we promised. I spoke again about water, as they did not send off above fifteen casks a day, and yesterday none. He sent to the Emir Bahar, who came immediately, and explained, that he

could not let us have more than from fifteen to twenty casks of good water per day, as it came from the country; that yesterday the Vizier had taken the water, as he did not know we wanted so much. This is probably true, for when the British fleet was here the water they procured was very bad, and ours is excellent, which could only be owing to the quantity then required being greater than the actual supply; they therefore took it from the brackish wells. He informed me that a boat was come in with fire wood, and that he would order the whole along side for us to-morrow morning. The camel's flesh went down very well, and we had a plentiful supply of very fine fish. The market yielded dried figs and nuts, which the monkeys liked as well as we did. We also procured a supply of excellent Egyptian dol. Jelani gave us fine bread; and we bought enough for our men of a coarser sort.

December 19.—In the morning, to our great surprise, the Emir Bahar came on board: it turned out that his only business was to request some flints for the Vizier. I gave him fifty, which were two thirds of what I had left. We had got all our rice, and had we been worth another anchor, should have been once again in a very comfortable situation. The winds were steady to the north, but Ramadan moon ending the next night, a change seemed approaching. In the morning it blew fresh from the east. It changed at noon to N. E. We rode by an anchor made of two guns and our chain, perfectly safe.

December 23.—On the 22d in the evening the new moon was visible, and was saluted by all the guns of the town. We received an invitation from Jelani to feast with him at ten, on the 24th, which we accepted. The Wahabee had kept the town in an alarm

every night, and on the 22d sent in an old woman to give them notice they should be there at night. We were again applied to for assistance, and it was proposed, by Jelani, that Captain Court and his crew should head the garrison, march out at night with the guns, and beat up the Wahabee's quarters. This, however, did not meet with our approbation, and we only generally said, we should be happy to do any thing in our power. Neither side seemed fond of fighting. On my asking Jelani what were the numbers of the Wahabee; he replied, "what is the use of talking of numbers; the whole country is Wahabee to Suez." The Wahabee, on the 22d, got possession of the wells, but the next day they were free. The water came but slowly, and during these holidays the people will not work, so that we got none at all. Our cable was making, but not likely to be ready before the end of the month. The weather was very fine and the winds more moderate.

December 24.—Three guns were fired about nine, which, we afterwards learned, were a salute to the Vizier on his leaving the palace to visit Jelani. We went on shore soon afterwards. We found Jelani seated in his inner square, which was much more richly furnished than during Ramadan, the cushions being of satin. When I entered, the commander of the forces was seated in my usual place in the corner; Jelani next to him: I sat on his right, and chairs were placed for the other gentlemen. As soon as the chief departed, Jelani made me take his place. A great number of people came in to congratulate him on the Ede, to each of whom on their entrance was presented sherbet, with an embroidered napkin to wipe their mouths. When he thought any person had staid long enough, the rose water and perfume gave the hint for his

departure, which he always took. The people of consequence had hookahs presented to them; Jelani, who was in high good humour, gave me a short account of each as he entered. I was very much amused by the difference of their dresses, which were all very rich in their kind. They varied most in their turbans, but no colour seemed particularly to point out the rank or descent: several were in green who could have no pretensions to a descent from Mohammed, and among them were Jelani's slaves. We saw many Bedowee, and a Moulah from Medina. The under dresses were rich satins or kincaubs; the kelauts, of English broad cloth, or a stuff like camelin: Jelani himself had an under one of silk lined with ermine, and over that, another of black fox skins. All the slaves had new dresses. Jelani told us we ought to pay our compliments to the Vizier, but as the crowd would be very great, we, by his advice, put it off till the morrow. He made an excuse on going out himself to pay some visits, and requested we would consider his house as our own. Tea was served to us in English tea things: it was execrable, and they had brought no milk; we did not drink any, at which they were greatly astonished, supposing it was our favourite beverage. Jelani returned by one o'clock, when an English table was brought, and chairs placed round it. Two Mussulmauns, besides himself, sat down to table with us. We had bread placed before us all; knives and forks only for our party. The first dish was a soup made of milk, meat, and some kind of acid, which was excellent. They took it out with small horn spoons, and handed it immediately to their mouths; we had ours in small basons. Next came very rich forced-meat balls; then water melons in slices; then meat again, stewed; then pastry, and so alternately

sweets and meat to the number of fifteen or sixteen dishes. Only one dish was put on the table at a time, which was so rapidly removed that we were not half an hour at table. We finished with pomegranates, bananas, and sherbet with raisins in it; after which each person turned round and washed his hands over a bason, into which water was poured by a slave who held a white napkin. The dishes were so excellent that I never made a better dinner. We had coffee and rose water when we took our leave. I learned from him that the Arab's first meal is soon after day break, and consists of milk, rice, fruit, sweatmeats, bread, and coffee. We partook of the second; and the third, consisting also of meat and pastry, is after sun set.

The people in general were in new and handsome clothes in the bazar and streets. The coffee houses were now opened and filled: all shops, except those that sold eatables, were shut; in short, every thing wore an air of festivity in despite of the Wahabee.

December 25.—As soon as we had breakfasted we went on shore to pay our compliments to the Vizier. We waited some little time at the door. The Emir Bahar came up, and after salaams, went in. He soon returned, and conducted us to a large open court, at one end of which was an apartment carpeted and elevated, like Jelani's: on each side were long benches covered with crimson satin and rich kincaub cushions. Close to the elevated apartment on the right entrance was the seat of honour, large enough to hold two. It had a covering of wood, and was ornamented with beautiful silk carpeting and cushions. I was seated here, and soon afterwards, the Vizier entered, followed only by his slaves, one of whom bore his train. The Emir Bahar stood the whole time, as

did a line of slaves opposite to us. The Vizier wore the dress in which I had before seen him, but all the rest had new and handsome clothes. After the usual compliments had past, he complained of cold, and asked if it was more severe in my country. He seemed in good humour. The conversation soon turned on the sick people, and Mr. Macgie was obliged again to direct what was to be done. He found they had left off his plaister, because the sore appeared to enlarge; and they had by no means obeyed him in the article of cleanliness. Through the medium of the Emir Bahar, who understood Andrew's Arabic better than the Vizier, we again explained every thing, and urged the necessity of cleanliness. He declared that we should be obeyed, but requested permission to send some one on board the ship to learn to make salve, which was willingly complied with. On our entry we had coffee, and afterwards sherbet. These we took without any fear; though our poor friend Unus had come off to request we would not, as we should certainly be poisoned. Unus never having been here before, had not till now heard of the Sheriffe's frequent crimes of this sort. We relied on the fear of our arms, not on his humanity, and therefore laughed at all our friend's warnings. The wind was light, and inclined to be southerly; and the heat, in the sun, so violent as to produce a head ache. We however all enjoyed our Christmas dinner together, and drank to our friends in England.

December 28.—Yesterday morning a ship was in sight from the mast head. As she fired guns, and had a signal flying for a pilot, we sent one off towards evening, but it was too late for her to come in. This morning we had the pleasure to see her safely at anchor alongside of us. She proved my old friend the Olive, commanded

by Captain Loane, who was at Mocha with Captain Sparks, and was loaded with rice and sugar. We had the satisfaction of receiving by him English newspapers down to February, and Bengal news of only two months old: and first heard of Lord Wellesley's departure, and Lord Cornwallis's arrival, and death on the 5th of October last. He brought me a letter from Mr. Maxfield, informing me of his arrival at Bengal, of his having been favourably received by the Marquis, and his expectations that he should be employed to complete the survey of the Red Sea. I had also a short letter from Mr. Graham, who, however, thought there was little chance of its reaching me in Asia. We now learned that the government of Bombay had been most kindly attentive to all our wants, and had actually forwarded every kind of stores to Mocha by the Prince, Captain Young, which was taken up for this purpose only. Mr. Young arrived on the 15th of November at Mocha, and received my letter, and Mr. Pringle's, ordering him to follow us to Massowah, but with which he did not choose to comply. Had he done so, he would have met us there after our misfortune on the 18th, would have liberated us from our difficulties, and have enabled us to settle with the Nayib. Captain Loane informed me that Mr. Pringle was recalled, and meant to return in the Prince to Bombay. Unfortunately he had detained every article, and even our letters, under the idea that before this we had reached Suez. Captain Loane supplied our wants so far as lay in his power, by letting us have twelve dozen of wine, some butter, pickles, geese, and biscuit. He also parted with a small stream anchor, which he had over and above his complement. Jelani's uncle and some merchants came on board the Panther in the morning, to request

I would introduce them to the British Captain, which I promised to do. They took coffee and sweatmeats. The Emir Bahar was of the party, and a Mussulmaun priest from Constantinople, who laughed at Mr. Salt's drawings, and was persuaded by the rest to have his picture drawn. They were delighted, as the likeness appeared on the paper.

December 29.—By my recommendation, Captain Loane determined to employ Jelani as his broker. On going on shore to introduce him, we met the Emir Bahar and Emir Bazar, who told us that the first visit should be to the Vizier. We accordingly went there, and found him civil and conversable, and afterwards proceeded to Jelani, who promised to do his best to dispose of the cargo.

The Emir Bahar procured me some slaves, who could dive, and procure the Yusser, a species of kerotophyte, which abounds in the harbour of Jidda, and has a most singular effect under water, from its gently waving motion when agitated by the tide. It is of a deep black colour; and although the stem at the base, where it adheres to the madrapore, is not thicker than a quill, yet its slender branches extend to a length of above four feet. It is covered with a brown, glutinous substance, which is evidently composed of millions of animalculæ, proceeding from the small pores in the Yusser, which become visible when they are removed. On being taken up it is flexible, but when dry it becomes very brittle. The divers went down in fourteen fathom, and procured some beautiful specimens of madrapore, which form the shoals of the harbour. One species my divers were very anxious I should touch with my tongue; suspecting a trick, I made them do it, and soon found by their grimaces, that it stung severely. I was informed

PRIEST AT JIDDA.

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that Yusser is found at Yambo of a white colour. I have seen specimens of both kinds nearly an inch in diameter at the base. It is formed into beads by the Arabians, and takes a polish.

December 30.—Captain Court went on shore to settle the accounts. The prices charged were most enormous: for rice, ten dollars a bag; for dol the same, though in the bazar it was only eight. The boat load of fire wood was eighty dollars; and about seventy-five butts of water five hundred dollars. The grapnel and the cable supplied by Jelani himself were more reasonable; and some excuse must be made for the distress of a siege, and the real scarcity which existed of some of the articles. The Emir Bahar got his additional present of seventy-five dollars, and we were obliged to give a similar one to the Emir Bazar, as he had sent us two goats and two sheep, which he yesterday took care to inform me were his private gift, and did not belong to the butcher. The camel's flesh was nearly a dollar a pound. The Emir Bahar asked me if I would give him a letter of recommendation to any English that came there: I said I would.

December 31.—By appointment I went on shore, under a salute of seventeen guns from the Panther, to take my leave of the Vizier. He received me without ceremony, made many excuses for not having been able to supply our wants better, and wished us a good voyage. We had coffee and sherbet, as usual. I spoke of Captain Loane as a friend whom I wished him to serve. He assured me that he would render him every assistance in his power, and that the duties should be moderate, as an inducement to him to come again. Our next visit was to Jelani, whose conduct had been uniformly kind and liberal during our stay. He now very handsomely

agreed to take Captain Court's bills on Mocha for the whole amount of our expenses, without charging any interest or exchange.

I gave him letters of recommendation to the Governor-General of India, and the Governor of Bombay, and also left with him a certificate of the liberal treatment we had received from him. I asked him if he wished them to be delivered in private, but he preferred receiving them in the presence of the crowd of merchants, who were assembled to consult about the purchase of Captain Loane's cargo. I parted from him with expressions of regard, and returned to the Panther under the usual salute.

A dow caught fire in the evening and was burnt to the water's edge, in defiance of the active exertions of the Emir Bahar and his people. One unfortunate man was blown in two, by the bursting of a powder tub, and a second had his legs and thighs dreadfully shattered; in this state he was sent off to Mr. Macgie by the Vizier, with a request that he would do any thing for him that he could, and even, if necessary, cut off his legs: a very extraordinary permission from a Mussulmaun, as, in general, the idea of amputation is abhorred, and its being done by a Christian would be considered as an aggravation of the injury. His case was however hopeless, and therefore Mr. Macgie declined interfering.

CHAPTER IX.

Observations on Jidda.—Its ancient and present state.—Condition of the Slaves there.—Decline of the Family of Mohammed.—Account of the Harbour of Jidda, its Trade, and number of vessels employed between it and Egypt.—Departure from Jidda.—Voyage to Suez.—Transactions there.—Arrival of Schech Chedid and the Caravan from Cairo.—Anecdotes of him.—Present state of Suez and its Trade.—Observations on the Passage of the Children of Israel through the Red Sea.

CHAPTER IX.

JANUARY 1, 1806.—JIDDA owes its celebrity from being the nearest sea port to Mecca, whence it is distant about forty miles. This holy city, being surrounded by a country unproductive in every article necessary for the support of man, has invariably depended on Africa for the supplies that its numerous regular inhabitants, and its still more numerous religious visitants, required. Egypt, fertile in grain, being in the possession of the Turks, the Sultaun used the influence which, in consequence of this circumstance, he thus obtained, to secure to himself a share of the profits of the extensive trade of Jidda. He therefore, regularly appointed a Pacha, who lived in the citadel of Jidda with a Turkish guard, and divided the receipts of the custom-house with the Sheriffe.

While the power of the Sublime Porte continued undiminished, its minister was treated with great respect, for any insult would have been punished by the powerful force which annually accompanied the caravan of pilgrims from Syria; but when Egypt was torn by internal convulsions, when the Pachas of Asia threw off, in a great degree, the control of the Porte; and when the Wahabee power arose, and cut off the communication between Constantinople and Mecca, the Sheriffe became disinclined to give half his receipts to a person, whom he no longer feared, but considered as an useless incumbrance. Disputes naturally ensued, which at length ended in open hostilities; and Ghalib, the present sovereign,

actually attacked the Pacha in the citadel, and nearly destroyed it; and got rid of him by the more secret means of poison. At present no representative of the Protector of the Holy Places, (for so the Sultaun is considered throughout his dominions,) is to be found in Arabia.

Although Ghalib has thus succeeded in securing to himself the revenues of Jidda, he has in reality only contributed to his own more rapid destruction. The Wahabee have taken advantage of the absence of the Turkish troops, whom, from their superiority to their own undisciplined bands, they were unable to oppose, to conquer the holy city, and to besiege Jidda itself. Yambo being free, many supplies are procured from it, and from the islands which lie near it; but, unless supported by a Turkish power, Ghalib must at length resign Mecca, Medina, Yambo, and Jidda, to the Wahabee: and indeed it may be doubted, whether it be an object to him to retain them under their present circumstances, when the expense so greatly exceeds the revenue.

Without the walls of these towns, the Sheriffe cannot be considered as having a subject. Every Arab, who falls within the control of Suud, adopts his religion, and receives permission to plunder those who have not done the same; no victory, therefore, could restore the country to the Sheriffe, who could only retain that proportion which his troops might cover. From the lands, therefore, all revenue is at an end; and the profits of the great fair annually held at Mecca, by the pilgrims who assembled there, much more from mercantile than religious motives, no longer flow into his coffers. The trade of Jidda still yields a small income, not equal, probably, to the expense of defending the place.

Thus situated, Ghalib, when besieged by Suud in Jidda, had determined to fly with his ill gotten treasures to India, and had, for that purpose, deposited them all on board his ships in the harbour. On the retreat of Suud, he carried back a large proportion of them to Mecca, which probably he would now find it difficult to remove; and even his own escape to Jidda, where a considerable sum still remains, under the care of the Vizier, is an attempt of danger, now that the Wahabee cover the country between the two places. In this distress, it would seem that he looks anxiously for the arrival of a new Pacha from Egypt, as the only hope of safety; though he must naturally dread, that the murder of two Pachas may call down the vengeance of their successor. Jelani informed me, that the new Pacha was supposed to have with him two thousand men. A much smaller force would protect Jidda and Mecca, but a much larger would be insufficient to recover the country. I suspect, however, that the Wahabee are much less considered on this occasion than the Sheriffe, and that it is against him, in the first instance, that hostilities will be directed. If the holy places can only be preserved by the Turks, they will naturally be inclined to secure them for themselves, instead of participating in the power of a man, who has already proved himself a secret enemy; and whose repeated murders, and insatiable avarice, have done more to undermine the power of the followers of the Prophet, than all the external attacks of the Wahabee.

The Arab character seems to have declined rapidly in Hedjas; for in 1763, when Niebuhr was at Jidda, a Sheriffe was always Vizier there, because, as he says, no descendant of Mohammed could, in so holy a country, be judged by one of an inferior race.

At that time, also, the sovereign of the country, Moosnud, was active, able, victorious, and so rigid an administrator of justice, that it is said a camel might go safely from one end of Hedjas to the other. During the nineteen years that his son has ruled, how totally has every thing been changed? The proud Arabs of Beni Koreish, the descendants of the Prophet, to whom the earth was given, are shut up in four wretched towns, whence they behold their country devastated without the means of saving it; and instead of receiving that respect, which for twelve centuries they have claimed throughout Asia, they are obliged to submit to the mandates of an Abyssinian slave, who has no real merit except valour, but who is recommended to his master by a willingness to commit every crime.

The martial spirit of the Arabians seems to have subsided together with their religious zeal. The larger proportion of their soldiers, and many of their officers, are slaves, purchased from Africa, who fight bravely for their masters, though, from their number, they might at any time render themselves free, now that arms are put into their hands by their effeminate masters.

A slave in Arabia is by no means an object of compassion; and, were it not that the loss of liberty enbitters every enjoyment, he would be in a better situation than in his native country. He is considered as a part of the family of his master, he lives well, is comfortably lodged, and splendidly cloathed. The Mussulmaun law limits his punishment, and enables him to quit his master if he should dislike his situation; for, at the request of a slave, the Cadi will order him to be publicly sold. He may even look up to the highest offices in the state; and his slavery can hardly be felt as a severe degradation, in a country where the despotism of the

Sovereign reduces every person to the same level of insignificance and implicit obedience.

The soldiers of the Vizier are in number about one thousand, who are all richly cloathed, and their matchlocks and jambeas highly ornamented with silver. If this be so in the time of the present Sheriffe, is it possible to believe that it was otherwise in the time of his more splendid and more powerful father? Yet Mr. Bruce calls the Vizier's soldiers a parcel of naked blackguards, in his account of his procedings at Jidda, to which I gave but little credit, knowing that a very different story is told by Captain Thornhill, who, with the other merchants, was obliged to purchase secretly a valuable present for the Vizier, to put an end to the disputes between him and Mr. Bruce respecting the duties on his baggage, which the latter refused to pay.

The Wahabee, who are chiefly cavalry, never wait for the Vizier's infantry, but retire on their approach, and after fatiguing them by a fruitless chase, follow them again to the walls, whence they are obliged to retrace their steps. They seem to choose the night for their attacks, and to place their hopes of success on either setting fire to the town, or starving it into a surrender. The horses feel the blockade most severely, and are the pictures of famine. The Vizer has procured a few from Cosseir, and says, that he expects shortly one hundred and fifty, which, if they arrive, will mount his most active slaves, and enable him to keep the enemy at a distance, till a want of fresh food renders them incapable of service.

The harbour of Jidda is formed by innumerable reefs of madrapore, which extend to about four miles from the shore, leaving many narrow channels between, in which there is a good bottom

at from six to twelve fathom, and where the sea is as smooth as glass, when it blows the heaviest gale. The entrance is of course difficult, but the rocks are visible when the sun is behind the vessel, and the native pilots unerringly steer in safety by the eye alone. Even large ships can enter; but for dows it is a most excellent harbour, and the number that even now comes here is very great. Sir Home Popham has given an excellent plan of the harbour, which differs but little from those of his predecessors.

An idea has been entertained in England by many able men, that Bonaparte, even with the possession of Egypt, would find it impracticable to reach India, from the want of vessels to convey his troops. My residence at Jidda has fully convinced me that this idea is erroneous; and Jelani gave me some information on the subject, which I think conclusive. He assured me, that the trade of Cossier, Suez, Jidda, and Yambo, would at any time supply a sufficiency of vessels to convey ten thousand men; and added, as a proof, that there were at that moment forty dows, either at Suez, or on their way thither, to bring down the Pacha and his followers, which would carry from fifty to one hundred and fifty men each. There would be no necessity for large supplies of water or provisions; for, the wind being favourable during nine months of the year, they might then run down with such rapidity to Loheia, as to find every night a place where these articles would be procurable. Thence to Mocha, if the wind should be adverse, they might go by land; and at the latter place vessels, under American colours, might be assembled, sufficient for their conveyance to India, without exciting a suspicion in the British, who would consider them as coming for the usual supplies of coffee and gums.

The danger will certainly lessen every year, with the decay of the Arabian trade; and will be nearly annihilated, if Abyssinia and Sennaar should be supplied directly from Europe and India, and the British obtain permission from the government in Egypt, to send their Indian manufactures to Suez. Hitherto this has not been permitted, in consequence of the influence of the Sheriffe of Mecca at Constantinople, who obtained an order, that all vessels bound for Egypt should stop at Jidda, and pay a duty there. To confirm this arrangement, the Sheriffe obliged the merchants to unship their goods, and remove them to other dows, so that the vessels, which navigated the lower part of the gulf, were different from those which navigated the upper; and the seamen were so ignorant of that part of the sea in which they were unaccustomed to sail, that they dared not venture into it, however willing they might be to escape the payment of duties at Jidda.

Many of the richest merchants have already retired from a place where trade is every day declining, and where their lives are perpetually in danger. Jelani would, I believe, be rejoiced to follow their example, but the Vizier has no intention of permitting so rich a prey to escape, and therefore watches him so closely, that a removal of his family is impracticable, and he would not wish to leave them behind. He may make terms with the Wahabee, and thereby secure his property, in case of their success; but this must be done secretly, or he would share the fate of his father, who perished by poison.

The English formerly carried on a considerable trade with Jidda, but it gradually declined, in consequence of the extortions of the Sheriffe and his servants, under the name of presents, and, for

many years before the expedition into the Red Sea, not a vessel had arrived, except the Surprise, Captain Gilmore, which the Vizier immediately plundered, but which Admiral Blanket as quickly obliged him to restore. From that time, till the arrival of the Olive, the English flag had not been seen in Jidda. The Sheriffe has had time to meditate on his folly, and Jelani assured me that he was at last inclined to be reasonable in his demands.

There was at Jidda only one renegado, a Frenchman of some abilities, whom we found of use in assisting Andrew to interpret for us. The Vizier treated him with great contempt, observing to us, that he was only a common seaman; but the lower orders had a respect for him as a physician, and he added a trifle to his allowance by his medical practice. I enquired of him after the English renegadoes who had quitted Mocha; he coolly replied, that they were gone to the devil different ways; that two had been killed in battle, one had been blown to pieces by the bursting of a gun, some had deserted to the Wahabee; and Thomas, whom I had known at Mocha, had gone up with the Sheriffe to Mecca, and had not since been heard of.

It would certainly be the interest of any merchant who may hereafter visit Jidda to employ Jelani, although Hammed Nasser is the British agent, on account of the great weight which his large property gives him among the other merchants, and the real respectability of his character. The duties proposed by the Vizier amount to about eight per cent. and the presents to himself, the Emir Bahar, and their servants, to about four more; but I am by no means sure that a merchant could depend upon having no other demands made on him, when he was once in the harbour, whence

it would be almost impossible for him to escape without a native pilot. The best pilots are Ali el Gaceni, Abou Mogannam, and Hassan Shaié.

January 2.—We this day took leave of Captain Loane, who went on shore to try once more to dispose of his cargo. They had hitherto offered him only three dollars per bag for his rice, though they charged us ten. He asked six and a half, and was determined, if they would not give that, to quit the harbour.*

With the morning breeze from the land, we quitted the harbour by the northern passage, when, dismissing our pilot, we proceeded on our way, till we saw the breakers off Charles's river. We were then much surprised and gratified at discovering a vessel to the westward, which, on approaching, we were convinced was not Said Doud's ship, nor his grab, we therefore hoped it might be the Prince, with our stores. We fired several guns, and made signals, but without obtaining any answer, or inducing her to alter her course, or wait for our coming up. We continued the chase all night.

January 3.—At five in the morning we came up with the strange vessel, and discovered, to our disappointment, that she was the Soolimaun, Captain Wilder, an Arab ship loaded with rice, but sailing under English colours. During the day we had light land and sea breezes from the southward.

January 5.—Yesterday evening the favourable wind, which had carried us into lat. 23° N. left us, and a stiff breeze set in from the northward, accompanied by a heavy swell, which greatly damped

* Captain Loane did not sell his rice, quarrelled with the Vizier, who would not give him a pilot, ran aground in attempting to leave the harbour, but got off, to be captured by a French privateer in the Indian seas.

our expectations of a favourable passage. We were obliged to double reef our topsails, and strike our topgallant yards Unus did not like the appearance of the weather, and disappeared; probably he returned to Jidda.

January 6.—In defiance of the foul wind, a strong current to the N.W. enabled us to make some way. In the morning the Arabian shore was in sight, near Yambo. It forms that part of the great chain of Raduan, which is called Lamlam, and is the land mark to the dows which are bound to Yambo.

January 8.—We had a slight southerly wind, and a current to the N.W. which carried us seventeen miles in the twenty-four hours. At night the breeze gradually freshened till it blew a gale from the S.W. and obliged us to clew up, and furl our square sails We afterwards lay to under the fore staysail and mizzen. The swell was great, and so short, that sleeping was impossible till after twelve, when it moderated sufficiently for us to set our double-reefed topsails and courses.

January 9.—We were on the look out for a reef laid down by Sir Home Popham, in lat. 26° N. but could not discover it, though we sailed over the very spot where it should be. The night was hazy, but in the morning the Arabian shore was in sight, distant four or five leagues. We stood towards a remarkable cape, that rose abruptly to a great height, and off which we discovered breakers, and a shoal. As this was laid down in no chart, and was an important headland, I named it Cape Barry, after my friend Colonel Maxwell Barry. It lies in 26° 32′ N. At twelve, on sounding, we found only twenty-six fathom, rock. We instantly tacked, and were shortly in good soundings, from twenty to twenty-four fathom, mud. Our friendly cur-

rent was succeeded by one to the S. E. We again looked out for the reef, near the northern extremity of which we were obliged to pass, but with the same want of success as before.

January 10.—On the 9th, at night we experienced as heavy a gale from the N. W. as on the 8th, which obliged us to take in every sail, and lie to for some hours. At sun rise Cape Barry was in sight, forming a conspicuous headland at the distance of eleven leagues. As the weather was cloudy, we were not able to take an observation.

January 11.—We had variable winds during the whole of the night, inclining to the northward, and on the 11th, in the morning, we had the heartfelt satisfaction of beholding the long sought for land of Egypt, at a distance of about eight leagues. We ran in for it, and at twelve were only four leagues off in lat. 25° 40′ N.

January 13.—On the 12th, the northerly breeze continued, and obliged us to work along shore, and prevented us from making more than sixteen miles. During the last twenty-four hours we had a favourable wind from the S. and afterwards from the W. with which we reached latitude 26° 36′ having passed within the islands called the Brothers. At twelve we were close to the shore, off which is a shoal, that is well laid down in Sir Home Popham's chart. The mountains here are higher than to the southward. Mr. Bruce describes them as beautiful from the green and red marbles that compose them; but though I have seen them from latitude 25°, I have not been able to discover any other appearance than the dull tint which stone generally acquires when long exposed to the decomposing powers of the atmosphere. At any rate, I could not perceive the least grounds for the supposition that they were

sufficiently red to have originally given a name to the sea, from their colour. Calms continued to baffle us, and when a breeze sprang up it came from the northward.

January. 15.—On the 14th, we had only light airs or calms, which brought us by twelve to 26° 45′ N. On the 14th, at night, we had no alteration for the better; but the scene was changed, by our being the next morning close over on the Arabian shore, within sight of the islands of Tiran and Shaduan, and nearly opposite to Ras Mohammed. Before night the wind freshened to a gale from the N. W. We stood in close to the Jaffateen islands.

January 21.—From the 15th, to the 21st, the gale continued from the N.W., blowing through the narrow straits between Shaduan and Ras Mohammed, with a violence equal to any thing I have experienced. We were generally obliged to lie to under our fore and mizen stay-sails; but whenever it moderated a little, we were glad to carry our courses, to avoid being driven to the southward. In this we succeeded, so that on the fifth day we were within a mile of the same position, in which we were on the first. The sea had been so rough as to deprive us of all rest at night, and all comfort in the day. The dead lights rendered our little cabin gloomy, and the water which washed in, in defiance of them, made it as damp as the deck. We stretched across from shore to shore, and had therefore several good opportunities of ascertaining the real position of Tiran: it is in latitude 27° 43′ N. longitude 34° 27′ 50″ E. It rises to a point in the centre, and has a small island at each end, which, at a little distance, appears as if attached to it. It is laid down by Sir Home Popham too far within the Gulf of Akaba.

The Jaffateen islands were an object which excited my interest, even in defiance of my annoyances, from their being considered, by some authors, as the three islands that lie off the Myos Hormos of the ancients. We ran as near them as we dared, and discovered that there were four of different sizes; the largest lies in latitude 27° 11′, longitude 33° 46′ E. Their number precludes them from the honour of being Myos Hormos; and I think the claim of the Two Brothers must be considered as inadmissible for the same reason; otherwise there is evidently an opening in the mountains behind them, through which a communication might have taken place with Egypt. A little to the northward are the Sefadja Hills, a rugged and lofty pile visible from a great distance. Shaduan is well laid down by Sir Home Popham. It has a single, horizontal, white stripe, that runs along its western side. It is valuable as a bold and lofty mark of the entrance into the narrow straits of Jubal.

Mr. Niebuhr does not seem to have laid down Ras Mohammed with his usual accuracy; instead of 27° 54′ N, the southern Cape, which is high land, and divides the sea of Suez from the sea of Akaba, is in 27° 44′ N. I cannot account for this difference any other way, than by supposing that Mr. Niebuhr might consider the south-westernmost point of land, which is opposite to Jubal, and forms the straits, as Ras Mohammed.

Had we not considered ourselves as certain of a fair wind at this season of the year, we should have hired a pilot from Jidda, who would have taken us into some harbour during these heavy gales; but ignorant as we were of the coast, and badly furnished with anchors, it would have been madness to attempt to enter even the sea of Akaba, which looked free from all danger, and is perfectly

protected by the mountains of the peninsula from the north west wind which tormented us.

January 22.—The wind on the 22d in the morning was variable and moderate: about twelve it came round to the S.W., when we made directly for Shaduan, and by midnight were ten miles to the north of it, when Captain Court lay to, as he did not think it prudent to enter the narrow straits of Jubal in the night.

January 23.—At day light we found we had drifted close to Ras Mohammed, when we bore away for Jubal with a fine breeze from the southward, which continued to freshen. We passed the high land of Zeyte, which can only be called so comparatively, from the low land near it. It is bluff to the sea, and is of a red colour, beautifully veined with purple. At one we were opposite to a mountain, called Agrib in our charts, though its real name is Ghareb. It forms a remarkable point on the African shore, from its being the last high land with a pointed and ragged summit: to the northward all the hills had either round or flat tops. At two we were off Tor, but felt too anxious to profit by our southerly wind to think of entering it. The celebrated mountains of Sinai and Horeb reared their pointed tops over a range of hills, which extend from Ras Mohammed to Ras Jehan. They were lofty, but their effect was diminished by those in front. It blew very fresh towards night, and we passed Ras Jehan on the Arabian shore in a gale of wind, accompanied by rain, and then considered ourselves as almost in safety, for here the sea narrows considerably, and the vessels during the expedition had frequently a great difficulty in weathering this cape, which is lofty and bold.

January 24.—We had reason to rejoice at our good fortune on

the 23d, for in the night the wind came round to the northward, and blew so fresh, that had we been on the other side of Ras Jehan, it would have been impossible to weather it. The swell was but trifling from the narrowness of the sea, and the little depth of water. After we had entered the sea of Suez we constantly had soundings. The change in the climate was very sudden; and the cold rendered the cabin quite uncomfortable. At day light we were close in with Hummaum Faroun, or Pharaoh's Bath, so called on account of some warm springs which break out there. It is a very high, bluff point, in latitude 29° 7′ N.; but the point is in 29° 10′, off which Captain Court anchored in 1795. During the day it was hazy, but cleared up towards the evening, and for the first time we were enabled to discover land all around us. To the north of Hummaum Faroun the hills were low and flat; on the opposite shore was a high and long bluff land, called Abou Daraja. It was red, veined with purple, as were the others, which we had seen since passing Shaduan. The wind moderated at sunset, when we had the pleasure of seeing Attaké, the last mountain on the Egyptian shore, and close to Suez.

January 25.—The light airs from the north still prevailed, but the smoothness of the sea, in a bason not twelve miles wide, permitted us to make but little way. The day was beautiful, and a clear sky enabled us to see the African mountains to great advantage; yet our impatience to reach Suez, which seemed at length almost within our grasp, precluded the possibility of our enjoying the scene. At twelve we were in latitude 29° 29′, and an opposing tide left us no hope of reaching the shore before the following morning.

January 26.—With the assistance of the tide we reached the anchoring ground of Suez by four o'clock; but not being aware of a spit of sand, which separates the narrow gut, that runs up to the town, from the sea, we went too far to the north, so that when we sent the boat on shore, she had half a mile to pull to the southward, before she could keep a direct course. A boat soon came off from the Dola, who commanded in the absence of the Aga, with a present of eggs, loaves, and a live sheep. We heard that Captain Bartou was at Suez, and therefore wrote to request he would immediately come off to us; with which he complied. We learned from him, that there was no Pacha there for Jidda, but that four hundred of his troops had sailed for the latter place, in five dows, a few days ago. The Capitan Pacha was said to be still at Alexandria, whither Major Missett had been obliged to retire from the disturbances at Cairo. Mohammed Ali, the celebrated Albanian chief, was then Pacha, but was pressed by the Beys, who were said to be near to the Pyramids. Money was so difficult to procure, that he had seized the whole caravan of coffee, which had last left Suez, and confiscated it for his own use: an act of violence, which will prevent any more from being sent from this place for some time to come. Captain Bartou arrived on the 27th of December, and instantly forwarded all the letters with which I had intrusted him, but as yet, no answers had been received to them, or to the letters he wrote to his owners.

Captain Bartou had stopped at Jidda, where he was promised freight, but was disappointed by the Vizier, who had sent for the merchants, and told them that, as there were many dows in the harbour unemployed belonging to true believers, he could not approve of their giving a preference to a Feringi; and, in short, declared

that he would put the first in prison who did so. Captain Bartou had no communication with Jelani, but received great assistance from the renegado. Having a native pilot on board, he put into the creek called Charles's River, which he describes as an excellent harbour, capable of containing many vessels. The outer part is sheltered from every wind except the west; the inner is perfectly land-locked. He then went to Yambo, in hopes of procuring fresh provisions and water. He found there a most respectable man in the office of Vizier, who afforded him every assistance at a reasonable price. Sheep were only two dollars each, and every thing else in proportion. The harbour he describes as good, and the people, as civil. There can be little doubt that it is a place preferable to Jidda. He procured during his stay some very fine shells, and other marine productions. On arriving at Shaduan, he experienced the same unfavourable weather that we did, and it continued for fifteen days. His pilot took him to a good anchorage among the Tiran Islands. There is clear ground all round them. The islands Sanafir, Barkara, Abou Schuscha, and Joboa, which are laid down by Niebuhr, were visited by him, and are, he says, small, low, and sandy.

January 27.—The Dola sent off, early in the morning, the chief officer of the Ascari to invite me on shore, and to say that, if I pleased, a house should be prepared for my residence. Soon after breakfast I quitted the ship, under the usual salute, and proceeded to visit the Dola. His house was not very good, but he gave me a very cordial reception. He is a venerable old man, with a large, white beard. He laughed, and talked freely, without any of the dignity of a Turk. He was seated in the window on a carpet, with several other respectable men near him. I had a chair placed for

me; and cushions were provided for the other gentlemen. After coffee, pipes were offered, and accepted by every one except myself. I then entered on business by stating, through Captain Bartou, that it was my wish to depart for Cairo as soon as possible, and that therefore I begged his permission to hire camels for the journey, and make an arrangement with the Arabs for my protection. He replied, that I might command every assistance in his power, but that he considered himself as responsible for my safety, and consequently, could not venture to let me go without receiving the Pacha's instruction as to a guard; he therefore requested that I would write to the British Agent, to make every arrangement at Cairo, and that he would send the letter by a messenger, which he should, according to his orders, immediately dispatch to the Pacha on the subject of my journey, having already sent to notify my arrival; that the caravan from Tor was expected in four days, by which time I should receive an answer from Cairo, and be at liberty to act as I might think advisable. This was so reasonable, that I immediately complied.

I next stated to him, that I was no merchant, and had nothing with me that was merchandise, except one bale of coffee, for which I was willing to pay duty; but that I hoped he would permit my trunks, and boxes of shells, to pass unopened. He appealed to Captain Bartou if they had even opened his trunks; how much less, then, would they do so by me; and as for the coffee, if I had ten bales, they should not think of charging any duty on them. I expressed myself very much pleased and obliged, and it was determined that I should hire a warehouse, and send my boxes on shore, as I packed them.

I was now presented to the custom master, who was a fat laughing Christian named Michael, who offered me his services, but turned me over, for a supply of provisions, to a namesake of inferior rank, who was agent for the vessels consigned to Signor Carlo Rosetti. He informed me that supplies were very uncertain; that even the water was brought in by the Arabs daily, and that we should not be able to procure any of that for the ship, without giving these plunderers a present of ninety-two dollars, an extortion to which we were obliged to submit. He said, that when our arrival should be known, some sheep would probably be brought down, and that he would try and procure us a few bullocks; but that they were worth fifteen dollars per hundred weight. Eggs and fish alone were in abundance, and cheap. My servant had forgotten to bring the present intended for the Dola, I was therefore obliged to apologise to him on my taking leave, but he with his usual good humour assured me it was of no consequence. I took Michael with me on board Captain Bartou's vessel, where I wrote to Mr. Aziz, the British Resident at Cairo; and inclosed him letters for Major Missett, and my friends in England. We were an hour and a half in reaching the vessel, in consequence of being obliged to go round the shoal. The weather was very cool, the thermometer being at 54° in the morning.

February 1.—I sent several of my trunks to Michael's, and my servant with a piece of muslin richly worked with gold for the Dola, which the old man was pleased to say, was not of sufficient value for him to accept, though it cost at Mocha fifteen dollars. Nothing can be a greater insult among the Mussulmauns than to return a present: I however said nothing, and

determined to take no notice of his conduct till I should have heard from Cairo.

February 2.—Early in the morning Captain Bartou came off to the ship, with answers to my letters. Mr. Aziz had made the necessary arrangement for my passing the Desert, and had procured a supply of stores for the Panther, which would be sent off by the first caravan. He informed me that Mohammed Ali Pacha had issued his orders for my being treated with every mark of respect at Suez, and that my baggage should be passed free; I was therefore under no obligation to the Dola for his civility. Major Missett very kindly congratulated me on my arrival, and forwarded the agreeable news of Lord Nelson's victory at Trafalgar.

February 4.—I yesterday sent off another express to Mr. Aziz, to represent the distress of the Panther for spirits and wine, and to desire him to procure either one or the other. The wind had blown from the north-west or east, ever since our arrival, and, occasionally, in strong puffs: to-day it came round to the southward. Captain Bartou informed me, that it had continued in that point for twenty days successively since his arrival.

February 7.—Seeing a caravan approach on the Cairo road, I thought it might be the one we expected, and therefore set off to meet it. It consisted, however, only of pilgrims, in number about six hundred, who were on their way from the coast of Barbary to Mecca. A little white man addressed Captain Bartou in Lingua Franca, and offered him one thousand dollars for the freight of his vessel to Jidda; an offer which he could not accept, as he had neither provisions nor men, and both must have been procured from Cairo. Had he been ready for sea, he might have made a good speculation,

not by accepting his little friend's bargain, but by taking each pilgrim at from five to ten dollars per head; for so short a passage he could have stowed from four to five hundred.

On the beach between Attaké and the town, we procured some very fine specimens of bivalve shells, and on the spit of sand, a variety of marine productions. I also greatly increased my collection of sea weed, with which the Red Sea abounds more than any other. Yet Mr. Bruce asserts, in his Dissertation on the origin of the Hebrew name Yam Suph, that he never saw a weed of any sort in it; and adds, "indeed, upon the slightest consideration, it will occur to any one, that a narrow gulf, under the immediate influence of monsoons, blowing from contrary points six months each year, would have too much agitation to produce such vegetables, seldom found but in stagnant waters, and seldomer, if ever, found in salt ones."!!! The ignorance displayed in the comment, is equal to the falsity of the original assertion. My friend, Mr. Dawson Turner, in his beautiful work on the Fuci, has given drawings of many of the specimens which I brought home, and Forskal confirms the fact of their being the production of the Red Sea.

February 9.—Early in the morning I received a letter from Mr. Aziz, informing me that brandy was to be procured, but that he feared wine was not. He notified to me that the caravan had actually set off, under the escort of an Arab chief, Nasr Chedid, who, by the orders of Mohammed Ali Pacha, had undertaken to conduct me in safety to Cairo. I determined to go immediately on shore, and superintend the necessary arrangements for my journey, in which Captain Court was so obliging as to permit Mr. Macgie to accompany me, to bring back my dispatches, and those of Major Missett,

which would not be ready for some little time. It was four o'clock in the evening when I and my party quitted the vessel, attended by Captain Court. It was really not without some regret that I did so. She had proved a safe conveyance to me in many perilous moments, and the recollection of these, and the idea of the different scenes I was going to enter on, excited strong emotions in my mind. I should very soon have to bid adieu to Captain Court, whom I could not but love and esteem, and to the other officers, whose conduct had been certainly meritorious, and, towards me, uniformly kind and attentive. It was a painful moment to us all; and I believe no one was rejoiced when my flag was hawled down, after flying for thirteen months, the moment the last gun was fired. The lads cheered me as we quitted the vessel.

We found that the caravan was arrived, consisting of fifteen hundred camels, three hundred armed Arabs, and about thirty Turks, with two officers, who came to guard the mahmal, or sacred covering for the Kaaba of Mecca. Mr. Thomaso, a native of Surat, who had been a Christian, and was employed in the house of Mr. Rosetti, arrived to act as interpreter or dragoman. He brought a letter from Mr. Rosetti, congratulating me on my arrival, saying, that he had received letters from his friend Mr. Tiretta, of Bengal, requesting him to pay me every attention; that he had, therefore, sent "his Thomaso," and should feel highly flattered if I would accept the hospitality of his house at Cairo. I also received a packet of the Courier de L'Europe down to August, which afforded many details of which we were before ignorant. In the evening the Schech visited me. He was a handsome looking man, of about thirty, fat, with very black hair and beard. He seemed good-

humoured, and was, I understood, a great lover of brandy. Captain Court staid with us till bed time, and then went on board. Michael's house was a wretched residence: the walls were broken in many parts; and as the numerous windows had only wooden fretwork in them, we found it very cold at night. My couch and curtains sheltered me, but the other gentlemen suffered severely. Schech Chedid was on ill terms with the Tor Arabs, and till their disputes were settled, it would by no means have been wise to attempt to leave the town. All was, for the present, adjusted on the 11th, and were to depart on the morrow, with a kafila chiefly of coffee, worth at least one hundred thousand pounds. It was owing to this dispute that the Schech brought so many of his people. One of his men shot a pilgrim through the head. The Schech immediately arrested him, and declared if the man died he should be punished; but as they sailed in the dow yesterday, the fellow is to-day at liberty. Schech Chedid dined with us every day, and drank abundance of brandy, but not satisfied with that, after our dinner, generally retired to Mr. Thomaso's room, and added to it a few glasses of gin. I one day sent a dram to the door for his chief follower: he saw it, and said, laughing, "Aye, I know he drinks, but he must not do it before me." This was a mark of respect due from an inferior to a superior, not to violate the law in his presence. Chedid would not scruple to drink in the presence of his servants, nor the followers in the presence of their inferiors.

Chedid is very pleasant and gay in his conversation; talks of their being all robbers, and says these are good times for him—that he stays close to Cairo, and seizes many things—if they are

enquired after, he pleads ignorance, and lays the offence on Elfi Bey, who is in great force in the Ac Faiume. At the same time he has the highest principle of Arab honour, and told me an anecdote of his family, which was confirmed by Thomaso. Osman Bey, greatly alarmed at the arrival from England of Elfi Bey, who, since the death of Murad Bey, had been his rival, determined to cut him off, and for that purpose sent down two boats with troops to intercept him as he was coming up the Nile. A violent gale of wind, accompanied by a cloud of sand, came on; Elfi sheltered himself behind a point of land, on which was a village. The boats with the troops of Osman Bey passed without seeing him; but he perceived them, and having some suspicion, immediately landed, and quitting his baggage, with five or six followers escaped into the Desert. These soon left him, as the way was long and difficult. At length, after a tedious march of ten hours on foot, he arrived at the tent of Nasr Chedid in the Desert, with whom he was on ill terms, and claimed protection. Nasr was himself absent with Osman Bey, whom he had joined with all his people at his camp before Cairo, where he waited the event of the attack on Elfi. Chedid's wife received and concealed him. Some of Osman's people came there, and asked if she had seen Elfi. She said, yes; and that he had passed by a way she pointed out to them. As soon as they were gone, she told Elfi, and bringing him one of her husband's favourite horses, and a dromedary, she desired him to esape to Upper Egypt, but to avoid the road which she had directed the troops of Osman to take. Elfi hesitated, and told her he was unwilling to endanger her husband's safety, who was in the power of Osman. She replied, it was no matter; her husband's honour required that she should

assist him in escaping; and that were he there, he would do the same himself, and that he would make her suffer if any thing happened to him. Soon afterwards, on being told the way that Elfi had escaped, Osman sent for Chedid, and accused him of having assisted his enemy. He replied, "You know, Osman Bey, I have been three days here with you, how then is it possible that I could do so?" "Well then," said Osman, "It was your wife that did so." "It was," replied Chedid." "Elfi demanded protection from her, and she only did her duty—had she done otherwise, I would have cut her head off with this sabre, though you know Elfi was never a friend of mine. He declared to me that he certainly would have done so, as she would have dishonoured his name. He frequently spoke of his family; told us, laughing, he had four wives who beat him, and that he wished we would give him something to make him strong. He had one son and two daughters. I told him I would visit him. He said nothing would make him so happy; that he would give me plenty to eat, a horse to ride, and a tent to sleep in; but that he had nothing to drink but water. He said he was called the English Schech—that he loved the English, and only wished that they had the country, instead of the Turks, who were all rascals. The Mamelukes were bad enough, but not so bad as they. He urged me frequently to tell him why we had not kept it, and when we meant to return. He assured me, that all the Arab tribes were most anxious for us, but that they would be glad even to have the French, in preference to their present masters. An assertion which I firmly believe, for the common people were certainly in a much better situation under the French government; for the impositions were then less, and

grain cheaper, as all export was stopped by the activity of the British cruizers.

He was extremely anxious that the King of England should hear of his name and of his attachment to the English, and urged me much to mention him, and let the world know that he was the most powerful Arab in the Desert, and had a greater number of horse and people on foot. His camels are his chief profit, but he also receives money from the caravans for permitting them to pass the Desert. The Maugrabin pilgrims paid him from one to two zequins each for protection, though they came alone, besides the hire of the camels which they had from him.

I met the Dola in the morning in the street, who was very happy to see me, and assured me that he did not know I was on shore, or he would have waited on me to pay his compliments. He also informed me, that the Turkish commander of the escort wished to wait on me. I replied civilly, and just as we sat down to dinner they came. The Turk was a respectable man, named Emin Effendi, belonging to the secretary's office of Mahommed Ali. He said he came to ask my permission to accompany my caravan; which, of course, I granted. The old Dola hoped I was perfectly satisfied, and regretted that his duty here prevented him from attending me to Cairo. I was amused with the change in his conduct, but answered civilly; however, in the evening, I sent Michael to insist on paying him for the sheep and eggs which he sent on board the Panther. He pleaded that they always sent a present to a vessel on her arrival, and that his only motive for refusing to accept mine in return was, that they would have believed at Cairo he had received one of great value, and that he did not like to accept one worth

only five dollars. As this contemptuous depreciation only aggravated the offence, I replied it was very well—I should take care to represent the whole business at Cairo. He instantly sent his chief officer to conjure me not to do so, as the consequence would be his total ruin, and to make every kind of apology. I had too much regard for the old man, who had, in every other respect, treated me with the greatest civility, to intend to put my threat into execution, and therefore assured him that every thing unpleasant should be forgotten.

Michael very wisely refused to make any charge for the use of his house and warehouse, or for his trouble, which he well knew would reduce me to the necessity of making him a present. As he had been very useful and attentive, I gave him a shawl for himself, and the piece of muslin for his wife, which the Dola had refused. I also gave twenty dollars to his servants. All the officers that could leave the ship, dined with me after I came on shore, to partake of the good things which the caravan brought from Cairo. The greatest luxuries were the oranges, vegetables, and fresh butter, which Mr. Aziz had sent over; but Mr. Pringle having left Mocha, we considered a cargo, which he had ordered by Captain Bartou, as fair plunder; and this consisted of figs, raisins, Sardinias, fish roes, and pickled mullets. The arrival of the caravan made it impossible to procure any thing in the market but fish and eggs.

Suez was formerly a place of considerable splendour, each Bey having a house there, in which his factor resided. The buildings are many of them large, but are, at present, little more than a heap of ruins, chiefly owing to the wanton injuries of the French, who

thus revenged themselves on the Beys for retiring into Upper Egypt, and not permitting themselves to be subdued. The fortifications never were of any strength, and were merely meant to keep off a sudden attack of the Arabs. It would be useless to fortify a place which has no water within its walls, and which must, consequently, be ever at the mercy of that power, which can keep possession of the country around, unless it should be thought of sufficient consequence to keep a large garrison, and to supply it regularly with provisions from Cairo, which the occupiers of Egypt must always be able to do. The French seem to have intended to remain; for they erected a battery of one gun on a hillock which commands the town. Suez has suffered as much by the stagnation of trade, which followed the occupation of Egypt by the French, as by their hostility, for no one will reside in so wretched a place, who is not tempted by his interest. An Arab house, which is flat roofed, soon falls into decay, if its preservation be not carefully attended to. At present the place seems rising again into consequence.

The chief trade of Suez has ever been in coffee, as the whole quantity which was consumed in the Turkish empire, came through that port and Cosseir. The tumults in Egypt, which ended by the Beys occupying the upper provinces, divided the country, and no communication is permitted between the different parts of it; consequently, no coffee is sent to Cosseir, except for the use of the Beys, and the residue finds its way to Suez, where, however, it is liable, not only to the exactions of the Pacha, but even to seizure. The owners of four cargoes, now in the harbour, are unwilling to land them, without having payment insured; and as the purchaser is equally unwilling to run any hazard, a stagnation of trade has

taken place; but I understand that the Pacha has most faithfully promised to receive the duty only, and that sooner than take back their coffee, they are determined to trust him; and, accordingly, the whole is to go with my caravan.

The disadvantages under which Suez has ever laboured, have been considerable from its situation; at the extremity of a narrow sea, down which the wind blows with irresistible force for at least nine months in the year. It was in early times some counterbalance to this, that a navigable canal extended from it to the most fertile province of Egypt, whence grain must always have been exported for the supply of Arabia. But even the advantages which water-carriage has over land, could not preserve to Suez the great trade of the Red Sea. The Ptolemies, many of whom seem to have been admirable judges of what was for the benefit of the country they ruled over, found it more advisable to establish a new emporium at Berenice, although it was necessary to convey the goods from that place upwards of two hundred miles over land, before they could be embarked on the Nile at Coptos, the modern Koust.

Were Egypt to be once again tranquil, and under the control of one master, and even were the ancient canal to be cleansed, I still doubt whether Suez would become a place of great trade, for the improvement of the science of navigation has not yet extended to the discovery of any means, by which a vessel could resist the force of the northerly winds, which blow in the upper part of the Gulf; but as it is only at the island of Shaduan that they become so violent, Cosseir is always attainable; and the diminution of the distance by land, from two hundred miles, to about one hundred and twenty, would fully repay the additional sea voyage of one

hundred and forty miles, and would probably lead to a transfer of the trade from Berenice to that place. The road is indeed not very good for ships, but it is protected from the N. W. which is the most prevailing wind, and, when it begins to blow from the east, a vessel might run to any of the numerous harbours which were entered by Don Juan de Castro. These have not since been examined; but if one of them should be the Myos Hormos of the Periplûs, it must have a means of communication with the plain of Egypt, and be by far preferable to Cosseir. Had I had the voyage of Don Juan de Castro with me, I would have visited Shakara and Shawna, in defiance of the deficiencies under which the Panther laboured.

Every traveller who has visited the upper part of the Red Sea, must naturally have turned his thoughts to the miraculous passage of the Children of Israel through it, and the destruction of the host of Pharaoh. Pococke, Niebuhr, Pere Sicard, and Bruce, have all given to the public their opinions as to the spot, where this event actually took place. I perfectly agree with the last named gentleman, that to seek for natural causes to explain a miracle, is perfectly absurd; and that it was as easy for the Almighty to carry his people through the widest and deepest part of the sea, as through the narrowest and most shoaly. But as the division of the water is the only thing that is represented by Moses as being miraculous, we must look to the position of the mountains on its western side, to discover in what spot it was possible for the children of Israel to approach the Red Sea.

A chain of hills extends from the high land of Zeyte nearly to Abou Daraja, between which and Attaké is the first valley, by

which six hundred thousand men, their children, and cattle, could reach the sea from Egypt. Sicard and others have believed this to be the line of their march, but I am inclined to the conjecture of Niebuhr, that Attaké was the southern boundary of their journey.

To place this in a clearer light, it will be necessary to ascertain, whence the Children of Israel began their journey, and to consider the account given of their movements by Moses. The ancient metropolis of Lower Egypt was On, or Heliopolis, and there it is probable the Pharaohs resided in the time of Joseph. Joseph placed his brethren in a part of the country named Goshen, but which is afterwards called Ramesses. In the 46th ch. of Genesis, it is said that Joseph went up to meet Israel his father to Goshen; which is translated in the Septuagint καθ' Ηρώων πολιν, εις γῆν Ῥαμεσσῆ. Monsieur Du Bois Aymé, in a paper read before the Institute of Egypt, very justly observes, that, as this translation was made by the Seventy only fifty years after the Macedonians had established themselves, the Egyptian names must have been still known, and consequently, that we are perfectly safe in believing Heroopolis to have been situated in the land of Ramesses, or Goshen.

To fix the position of Heroopolis is rather difficult, in consequence of the apparently contradictory assertions of ancient authors. Moses, in the text above referred to, clearly shews that it was on the direct road from Canaan to Heliopolis, while Strabo speaks of it as being near to Arsinoe, and at the top of the gulf called Heroopolitan. To reconcile these assertions in any degree, the Arabian Gulf must have formerly extended much farther north than it does now, or a considerable latitude must be allowed to the expression of Strabo.

The French engineers discovered, when in possession of Suez, that at a little distance to the north of that place are marshes which extend for above twenty-five miles, and are actually lower than the sea, though they are not overflowed, in consequence of a large bar of sand which has accumulated between them; nothing therefore can be more probable, than that, in times so far back as the departure of the Israelites, the sea itself extended to these marshes; and that since, the same gradual incroachments of sand from the Desert, which have formed the Tehama in Lower Arabia, have annihilated the sea in a place where it was so much narrower. The contradictions may be still farther removed by the supposition, that Strabo considered himself as justified in describing a place as being on the Gulf, which was actually situated on the canal that united it with the Nile, and which, from being of the greatest consequence in the province, gave its name to it.

Were we, however, inclined to give every weight to the description of Strabo, his evidence would be set aside by the higher authority of Moses, who proves that Goshen was in the way to Canaan; and by the short account of Ptolemy, who declares that Heroopolis was on the confines of Arabia, and that the canal of Trajan ran through it (p. 120). The course of this canal has been traced by the French engineers, from longitude 31° 52′ to 32° 20′ running in nearly an east and west direction, in about 30° 32′ north latitude.

It is therefore within this line only, that we can look for it; and I am inclined to admit the opinion of Monsieur Aymé as well founded, that the ruins he discovered at Aboukechied, indicate the spot where Heroopolis stood, and where, consequently, the

Children of Israel actually resided, extending themselves over a country that sustained their numerous flocks and herds, to the borders of that part of Egypt where grain was cultivated, but in which they would not be permitted to sojourn, in consequence of their destroying the sacred animals. I cannot, therefore, for a moment believe, that Heliopolis was within their bounds, or that they ever went either to the south or west of it; though it appears, indeed, from the account of the sacred historian, that they were near to this capital of Pharaoh; but Moses is spoken of as having gone out to his brethren, which would seem to imply that they were at some little distance.

Taking, therefore, any part of the country between Aboukechied and Heliopolis, as being the province of Ramesses, whence the Children of Israel departed, how improbable does it appear, that they should proceed into the low land of Egypt, to the very banks of the holy river, to round Mokattem, and enter the valley, which, beginning there, extends to the Red Sea; and this at a time when they were thrust out from the land of the Egyptians, who did not believe themselves safe, till they had got rid of them.

In the 13th chap. verse 17th of Exodus, it is declared, that "God led them not through the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near" (verse 18th), "but about through the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea." Now, both these observations are perfectly true, if they set off from the vicinity of Heroopolis, which was actually on the way to Canaan, but would be false, if they began their journey from opposite Memphis, whence it would be much nearer to reach the Red Sea than the land of the Philistines.

By the supposition that the Children of Israel resided nearer to

the desert, we get rid of the difficulty of their having to march sixty miles in only three stages, which is the distance from the Nile to the Red Sea, and which seems almost impossible, incumbered as they were, with children, cattle, baggage, and kneading troughs, even supposing that their three marches were in a direct line east, which appears to have been by no means the case; for they were directed, after the second day's march, when they quitted Etham on the edge of the wilderness, "to turn," and encamp before Pihaheroth, between Migdol and the sea.

Confiding in the promises of Moses, confirmed as they were by the miracles which he had wrought, it is probable that the Israelites had prepared for their departure, and were all assembled at some one place, waiting impatiently for the result of his last interview with Pharaoh. The spot chosen must have been where they could either move towards Canaan, or the Red Sea; and it must have been at such a distance only from the Desert, that they could, although incumbered, reach the confines of it in two marches, and the Red Sea in three.

If the Red Sea terminated then, as it does now, at Suez, it appears to me impossible to fix on any spot that unites these requisite points; but if it extended then over the marshes, surveyed and laid down by Monsieur Aymé, the difficulty would be removed, and the vicinity of the modern Balbeis, on the banks of Trajan's canal, would accord with the description of the sacred historian, for it is in the direct road from Heliopolis to Canaan, and not above thirty-five miles from the sea.

As the great weight of my argument depends on the fact, that, from the present appearance of the country, there is every reason

to believe that the Red Sea did actually extend, in former times, twenty-five miles north of Suez, I think it may be right to observe, that the Savant, from whom I have derived my information, is not a person who, being zealous for the cause of religion, might have falsified a little to get rid of a difficulty, but that, on the contrary, he feels it necessary to justify himself from the suspicion of believing in the miracles of Moses, in whose book he declares that the transactions are doubtful, and the philosophy absurd. We may surely admit the evidence of such a witness, when it tends to confirm the authenticity of religious history.

It is evident that Pharaoh could have no expectation of the Children of Israel's return, when he had so frequently experienced their refusals to depart without their cattle, and their children; and he must have been confirmed in this idea, by their carrying with them the bones of Joseph. But the terror of the last dreadful visitation probably hung over him, and prevented his pursuing them, while they continued their proper route, and seemed under the guidance of their Almighty Leader; but when they turned aside, and were actually entangled in the land, and shut in by the wilderness, he had reason to hope that he might again recover so valuable a body of slaves. This is the reason assigned by Scripture for his pursuit; and I cannot, therefore, agree with Mr. Bruce, that he was influenced by resentment at the Israelites' carrying away the jewels. In fact, the idea is absurd, that he should feel tranquil while they were carrying off the spoils of the Egyptians to a country, whence he could never hope to bring them back, and that his anger should be roused when they were once more, apparently, in his power.

The sufferings of Egypt, in consequence of the residence of the

Children of Israel among them, were only temporary; but there is good reason to suppose that the benefits were permanent. By the policy of Joseph, the whole of the land of Egypt became the property of the sovereign, and the people and their children his slaves; an event which, however unpropitious it might be in any other country, was necessary there, where every harvest depended on the Nile, and where the equal distribution of its waters could alone produce a general cultivation. When the lands of Egypt were private property, would it be possible to induce individuals to sacrifice their possessions, that they might be turned into canals for the public benefit? or, when the canals were constructed, would it be possible to prevent the inhabitants of the upper provinces from drawing off more water than was requisite for their own use, and thereby injuring the cultivators lower down? But when the whole belonged to one man, the necessary canals would be constructed, the distribution of water would be guided by prudence, each district would receive its necessary proportion, and the collateral branches would then, as they are now, only be opened when the height of the river justified such a measure for the public benefit. It is evident that no canals were constructed before the time of Joseph, for Herodotus even attributes these mighty works to Sesostris, who did not reign till three hundred and ninety years afterwards.

CHAPTER X.

Departure from Suez.—Passage across the Desert.—Arrival at Cairo.—Visit to the Pacha.—Visit to the Citadel.—Description of it.—Visit to the Pyramids.—Observations on them.—Taher Pacha.—Visit of leave to the Pacha.

CHAPTER X.

FEBRUARY 13.—EARLY in the morning the Schech sent the camels for our baggage, and soon afterwards arrived himself with those that were intended for our accommodation. I travelled in a Takterouane, which is more like a box than a palanquin, and, being only five feet long, is very uncomfortable. It is slung between two camels, by large shafts which pass underneath it; between these the camels march. We had ten Mohaffas, in which the other gentlemen went; these are a kind of little couch, two of which are slung sideways on the opposite sides of a camel, with an awning spread between to keep off the sun: we had also fourteen camels for our baggage and water. To avoid the necessity of dressing food in the Desert, we provided plenty of cold meat, bread, fruit, butter, and cheese. We were obliged also to provide coffee, bread, and rice for the soldiers of Chedid, and the men who attended on the camels. It was half after ten when we took leave of our estimable friend Captain Court, and the other companions of our voyage, and mounted our camels. I found the motion by no means pleasant, but had reason to suspect, from the violent movements of the gentlemen in the Mohaffas, that they were still more incommoded. Nor was I mistaken, for, on meeting at the wells where the rest of the caravan had halted, they were loud in their complaints, and agreed in opinion, that a camel afforded the most uneasy conveyance they

had ever experienced. We reached the wells by twelve, a distance of about four miles, and immediately pitched our tents.

Our station was in the front of the line, close to the Schech's tent: our baggage was around us. The Turks were nearer the sea: their chief, Emir Effendi, sent in the evening to Chedid, to say that he had heard we were likely to be attacked on the morrow, and therefore wished to arrange with him the order of march. It was determined that a part of the escort, with the Turks, should go in front, a part in the middle of the caravan, and a few in the rear. The robbers of the Desert are not supposed to exceed in number five hundred, and are consequently little to be feared by Chedid, who is himself as brave as a lion, and can depend upon his followers. It was, however, wise to take every precaution, as the appearance of preparation might often prevent an attack; for the Arabs, like other banditti, never fight, except when they conceive themselves so superior as to be sure of success.

Chedid dined with us, and expressed great approbation of the cherry-brandy, which he drank most freely, though, the tent door being open, his people could distinguish that he did so. He was in great good humour, laughed, and told several stories of himself, which were interpreted by Mr. Thomaso. He at length began to praise my tent, which was lined with green cloth, so highly, declaring that it was superior to any he had for his wives, that I was induced to promise it to him on my arrival at Cairo, after which I could have no occasion for it.

February 14.—At half after five we took a dish of coffee, and mounted, and did not halt till a quarter before six in the evening. I think our camels never went less than three miles an hour, and

therefore suppose we travelled over about thirty-three miles of a road, which winds considerably among the smaller hills. At nine we passed a building on our right, which was formerly used as a fort by the Turks, when they were more powerful, to protect the caravans from the robbers; at present it is nearly in ruins. Soon afterwards the road became more stony, and we quitted the plain of Suez, and had small hills on our right and left. This was considered as the most dangerous spot; our escort was therefore on the alert. The Turks marched in front, displaying two flags; the first, belonging to the mahmal, was white, with a yellow border, and in the centre the two-bladed sword in yellow: the other, belonging to the Sultaun, which was half green, half red, the former uppermost. Chedid was with them as Commander in Chief, and always preceded the caravan to the top of the ascents, where he waited till they came up, and then went on as before. None of the party could this day procure the loan of a horse, except my servant, who made interest with a young Arab to let him have his, with sabre and musket, on promising to fight if we were attacked. A more complete coxcomb than this youth I never beheld. He had a very small musical instrument, something like a guitar, but with only four strings, on which he played with his fingers for several hours, while he continued to march on foot by the side of my Takterouane. At night he produced a little box containing a glass, a comb, and a toothpick, took off his turban, combed his hair, picked his teeth, and contemplated himself in the glass, with all the airs of a finished petit maitre.

I collected during the march several very beautiful specimens of Egyptian pebble, with which the whole road was covered, to the

great annoyance of the camels. The only vegetable productions which I saw, were a few stunted Mimosas, an Artemisia, which is probably the Absinthium of Bruce, an Echium with a purple blossom, and an elegant but leafless Spartium, with a purple and white blossom. Chedid dined with us; but he complained of the effects of the cherry-brandy, and would take neither wine nor spirits. The Emir fired a gun at night, as he had done in the morning, before he moved from his station.

February 15.—At six precisely the gun of the Emir warned us to mount. Our camels were evidently fatigued, and we did not reach our halting place till five, though it was not above twenty-two miles. The road was more winding than yesterday. From the time that we quitted the wells, till half after four this day, we had been gradually ascending; at that hour we reached the highest point, and beheld a descent before us, which led to the fertile plain of Egypt, dark with verdure, through which the Nile was winding its course. The whole was a beautiful scene, and appeared still more so, from the contrast formed by the arid foreground of the Desert.

The day had been by no means sultry, and as all danger was supposed to be over, every person who wished it, procured a horse. My friend the Emir sent to offer me one of his, but I declined accepting it. Chedid had parted with us early in the day, and gone on to his own residence, which was distant a few miles. He left a message for me, with his chief officer, requesting that I would not pitch my own tent, but occupy his, as it was intended we should set off again at midnight, he having heard that the robbers meant to follow, and attack us in the morning. I complied, though assured by Mr. Thomaso, that the whole was a trick to get us into Cairo as

early as possible, for this was to me as desirable an object as to them. Our two barrels of water had not been opened, nor should we now want them, I therefore told the Arabs that they might have them. A violent dispute arose about the division; and even my friend the Emir sent to request that I would give him some of it.

February 16.—It was three o'clock before the caravan departed: at eight we reached an opening in the hills, down which we rapidly descended, and at the bottom were met by Mr. Aziz, the acting Resident for the British during the absence of Major Missett. We here parted from the rest of the caravan, and passing by some magnificent Mussulmaun tombs, kept along the walls of Cairo, till we reached an ancient and lofty gate, called Bab-el-Fituch, which we entered, with all our baggage, orders having been issued for that purpose by the Pacha. We soon arrived at the European quarter, and took up our residence in the British factory. We had scarcely time to dress ourselves, before the Reverend Fathers, and the Principal of the Franciscans of Jerusalem, paid me a visit, to congratulate me on my arrival; and immediately afterwards came the Franciscans of the Propaganda, with their Principal. Mr. Macardle, of Rosetti's house, and the other European gentlemen resident here, also came to pay their compliments. We dined at home quietly, and went to bed early, highly pleased to find ourselves in an excellent house, and in civilized society. His Highness Mohammed Ali Pacha sent in the evening to congratulate me on my arrival, and to learn privately on what day I meant to visit him.

February 17.—His Highness's Interpreter came again in the morning. He made an offer, in his master's name, of every assistance I might want to visit the town and neighbourhood, and expressed

his regret that the situation of the country was such as to render it uncomfortable to strangers. He sent the Interpreter to consult with Mr. Aziz, as to the proper etiquette in receiving me, assuring me, that it was his wish to pay me every possible attention; that he was attached to my countrymen; and that it was even his interest, having been recently raised to so high an office, to cultivate the friendship of those nations which were friends of the Porte; that immediately on hearing of my arrival at Suez, he had issued his orders to his servants there, to treat me with every respect, which he trusted had been complied with; and that if any thing should hereafter be neglected which ought to be done, he hoped I would attribute it to his being a rough soldier, little accustomed to the formalities of peace.

I expressed my great obligations to his Highness, and assured him that I felt too sensibly his past kindness, to doubt his future attentions. It was settled that I should visit him tomorrow, and the whole etiquette was arranged with Mr. Aziz.

I received a visit from the Reverend Fathers of the Greek Convent, situated in the Greek quarter, which is dependent on the Patriarch of Alexandria.

In the morning I returned Mr. Macardle's visit, and accepted an invitation from him to be present in the evening at an Egyptian dance. I went, but was not much amused. The dancers were veiled, not from modesty, but to conceal their ugliness. They sung somewhat in the manner of the Indian nautch girls, but never raised their voice to an artificial pitch. The dances were infinitely too indecent, even for description. Mrs. Macardle, a pretty Greek, and a great number of ladies, were there; none of them seemed the

least discomposed; but, on the contrary, laughed excessively: yet unquestionably this was by no means the effect of vice, but solely of habit, which had rendered the scene so familiar, that they did not perceive its impropriety, and even, when asked, danced themselves in as indecent a manner. In the intervals of the performances, the dancing girls went round, demanding money from each person.

In so turbulent a city as Cairo, every house is wisely constructed for defence, and, consequently, has no windows, or only a few of small dimensions, towards the street; they are generally built round a court, and contain a small garden within their walls. The house of Mr. Rosetti, in which Mr. Macardle resides, is very large, with lofty rooms, and well furnished; a part of the end of the state apartment is raised from the floor, and covered with rich carpet, around which are couches composed of cushions, in the Eastern style, which is called a Divan. The whole room is covered either with a mat or a carpet, and in the middle are chairs and tables: the windows are large and glazed.

The female Greeks born in Egypt are pretty, fair, and well made, when young, but child-birth destroys their figures by relaxation, and their bosoms become large and flaccid. Their head dress is Asiatic, and richly adorned with gold, pearls, and diamonds: their robes are of the same style, and consist of satins and velvets, faced or lined with fur. Unfortunately, in the same proportion in which the outside is adorned, the inside is neglected. The mind of a female Greek is a total blank, or worse.

The gentlemen of Mr. Rosetti's house are chiefly Italians, sensible, and well informed. Of the French nation there are very few

A kind of Agent goes occasionally to the Pacha, but he cannot be received in any public character, as Bonaparté is not recognised as Emperor by the Porte. The evenings are generally spent at Mr. Macardle's, where the different gentlemen resort, and play at cards.

February 18.—At three o'clock we went, by appointment, to visit the Pacha, who does not reside in the citadel, but in a large house in the Osbeckia. His Highness had sent five horses, most magnificently caparisoned, for me and my suite, and a party of his Chaous, with silver sticks, to attend us and keep off the crowd. The apartment, into which we were shewn, was crowded with soldiers, and was remarkable neither for its size nor richness. As soon as we were seated, he entered by a side door. I arose, and paid my compliments in the European fashion, while Mr. Aziz, as a native subject of the Porte, kissed the hem of his garment, and continued standing during the audience. He is a little man, of an intelligent countenance, with a reddish brown beard of moderate dimensions, but of which he seemed to be proud, as he was continually stroking it. He seated himself close to me on a Divan, and began the conversation with the usual train of compliments on my arrival, addressing me by the title of General. I thanked him for all his kindness; and, as I had been previously requested by Chedid, mentioned how well he had behaved in the Desert, and at Suez. His Highness gravely answered, that if he had behaved otherwise, his head should have answered for it. He expressed a great regard for the English, saying that he had been much with their officers, when they were in Egypt, and that he had uniformly been kindly treated; that it was therefore his inclination to do

every thing in his power for them all, and particularly for a person of my consequence. It was also his duty, since he knew that we were the steadiest friends of the Porte. We conversed on the reports which had circulated of Bonaparté having taken Vienna: he said he could hardly believe it, though every thing was possible in such wars as these. He told me that the French Agent had been to notify it to him, and to inform him, that it was now the great Emperor's intention to reconquer the Crimea from Russia, and restore it to the Porte: that he had answered, "the Porte does not want the Crimea; she has already so widely extended an empire, that she cannot manage the whole of it; she only wants friends." I told his Highness, that if Bonaparté got the Crimea, he would restore it to the Porte as he did Egypt. He replied, he knew that very well; and if France should be victorious, he was very much afraid they should have to fight again for this country, and that the Turkish troops were not capable of resisting the French; that they were not now what they were formerly. I observed, that they had fought bravely, and resisted successfully, the Emperor Joseph in the last war. He replied, "aye, yet they were then much divided among themselves." He offered me every assistance in his power to visit the Pyramids, and desired I would not scruple to apply to him for every thing I wanted. Coffee was served on our entry; the cup out of which he drank was set with diamonds; our cups were of gold embossed. When sherbet was served, we took the hint to retire. He said, he hoped to see me again, and should any thing particular occur, he would send to me. His Highness was plainly dressed, and wore no jewels of any kind. On quitting the house, a salute was fired.

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February 19.—In the morning I returned the visit of the reverend Fathers of St. Francis. The Jerusalem Convent is a very good building, and sufficiently strong to keep out the natives in a time of tumult. The church is handsome, and has some tolerable pictures, but they are spoiled by having gold crowns inserted over the heads of the saints. A very reverend Father, with a silver beard, who had lived fifty years in the convent, but who was still lively and intelligent, shewed me, with great satisfaction, the figure of St. George, his patron saint. He was extremely delighted when I told him that my name was George, and advised me to recommend myself to that saint, night and morning. They all seemed gay and contented. The Superior was a man of sense and information. These are the Capuchins whom Bruce mentions, as he always does the clergy, with disapprobation. They have a good organ, and a library tolerably filled. It has been formed by an accumulation of the private collections of such Fathers as have died in the convent: they who remove, always take their property with them. This is the most ancient establishment of the Franciscans, and has a noble friend in the house of Rosetti. In the sacristy they shewed me the splendid habilliments, in which the Cardinal de Rohan formerly celebrated high mass, and which were given to them by Mr. Macardle. They are entirely supported by charitable contributions.

I next visited the Franciscan Fathers of the Propaganda, whom Mr. Bruce accuses of having instigated the assassination of Monsieur de Roule. He gives a minute detail of a transaction, which passed seventy years before he was in the country, but does not quote his authorities. This, at least, he should have done, when accusing a reverend body of so horrid a crime. They had heard of his accu-

sation; and it was probably a feeling of resentment that induced them to repay the obligation, by charging him with having destroyed Luigi Balugani, the Italian youth who accompanied him into Abyssinia, in order to take the credit to himself of the drawings that he brought home. It was impossible to convince them of the injustice of their charge, though they did not attempt to produce any other evidence, than that Balugani could draw, and Mr. Bruce could not. These Franciscans are very poor; they formerly received each a miserable pittance of sixty dollars from the Propaganda at Rome, which is no longer paid. They subsist only on charity; and as they have fewer friends than the Capuchins, live very indifferently. Their convent is small, their church decent, but poorly furnished. The Superior was a Pole, an intelligent man, who spoke Italian, and a little French.

As the weather was fine, I took a walk in Mr. Rosetti's garden, which is large, and would be very pleasant, were it not that the Albanians intrude whenever they please, take what they like, and even cut the trees with their sabres. On my return home, I received a deputation from the Greek Archbishop of Mount Sinai, excusing himself for not having visited me. He was so afraid of being insulted, that, although he had been here a year, he had never ventured to quit his convent. Having been assured that he was a very pleasant and intelligent man, I returned an answer, that I would do myself the pleasure of visiting him.

Schech Chedid, and Mohammed Ali Pacha, were by no means friends, in consequence of the former refusing to pay any tribute, and occasionally interrupting trade. I found that, when Mr. Aziz suggested to his Highness the eligibility of sending this most pow-

erful chief to escort me across the Desert, it was difficult to induce him to enter the town; but at length he was induced to do so, on receiving the Pacha's passport, and security for his personal safety. He came in again this day, and settled with Mr. Aziz for my journey. In addition to the tent, I presented him with a shawl for himself, and a very rich piece of gold tissue for his wife, with which he declared himself more pleased than if I had given him ten times the amount in dollars. By the custom of the country, a Chief escorting a caravan was entitled formerly to four dresses; Mr. Rosetti reduced the number to two, which were also given to him. He charged eight dollars for the hire of each camel. Though only two were employed in carrying the Takterouane, yet the price was thirty-two dollars, in consequence of an idea that it is injurious to the animal. The whole expense of passing the Desert was upwards of six hundred dollars.

February 20.—In consequence of a notification to his Highness, that we wished this day to visit the Citadel, he sent early in the morning seven richly caparisoned horses for our use, an officer of the troops to conduct us, and two Chaous Bashi to keep off the crowd. We set off, accompanied by Mr. Aziz, Mr. Macardle, and many European gentlemen; and by the assistance of the Pacha's servants, who rode on asses, and did not spare their whips, made our way through the narrow streets, which were, as usual, crowded, till we reached a kind of open place before the gate of the new Citadel, opposite to which is a very noble mosque. We mounted a steep hill, paved with large flag stones, surrounded by ruins of houses lately destroyed in the disputes between the Turks and Albanians, till we reached the walls of the new Citadel, which are lofty and strong.

On entering, we went directly to the hall of audience, where we expected to find the Pacha's son, but he had gone to visit his father. We were, however, received by an officer of the garrison, who presented us with pipes and coffee, in a room which was formerly the zenana of the Pacha when he lived in the citadel, and looked directly over the walls towards Old Cairo and the Pyramids. In the middle was a fountain; but in other respects, it had nothing but its size, and its consequent coolness in summer, to recommend it. The officer attended us himself to the mint, where they coin gold zequins, half zequins, and quarter zequins; also in silver, piastres and parahs. As these are much adulterated, the profit of coining is very great to government, bringing in from one thousand to twelve hundred purses: it was more in the time of the Beys. The machinery for striking the coin, is similar to that used in Europe before the inventions of Mr. Bolton, but of inferior merit. Instead of using rollers to flatten the metal, they beat it out with hammers.

We next visited Joseph's well, which has been too frequently described to require an account of it here. It is an astonishing work, for it required no common mind to sink an oblong pit of twenty-four feet by eighteen, to the depth of one hundred and forty-six feet through the solid rock, and then, not baffled by the difficulty and want of success, to persevere in sinking another, still through the solid rock, to the depth of one hundred and thirty feet, where the rock ended, and the water was found. The size of this second is only fifteen by nine, according to Norden, which is sufficient for every purpose of utility. It was probably thought unnecessary to make it larger, as it is not visible from the top, and not forming one single piece, could not be considered as ornamental.

I do not see any reason to doubt the tradition reported by Mr. Niebuhr that this, as well as the other noble works which are attributed to Joseph, were constructed by the celebrated Saladin, whose real name was Yusuff, and in whose time the citadel was constructed, though others attribute it to his minister. We next visited the Divan, which has nothing to recommend it, but its great size, being one hundred and forty-nine feet long, eighty-six broad, and between thirty and thirty-five high; formerly indeed it was splendidly ornamented, but now it is rapidly falling to decay. The French used it as an hospital, for which it is admirably adapted. The view hence, and from every part of the ramparts, which are themselves lofty, and are elevated on a rock, is most beautiful. It extends over the ruins of Old Cairo, the villages of Boulac and Gheza, with the great Pyramids, the Pyramids of Sacara, and the Nile, to enrich the prospect. At that time the extensive plains of light-green wheat formed a singular contrast with the arid desert, and the barren rock of Mokattem. This last commands the citadel, which would otherwise be a place of great military importance, as the whole city of Cairo lies at its mercy. The French engineers wished to remove it, but Bonaparté would not consent to a measure that did not originate in himself. It would be a work of great labour, but certainly not impracticable. The new and old citadel cover a great extent of ground: they were formerly separated, but the French opened a communication between the two. All the splendid remains of antiquity are in the new citadel, where is also a very handsome place d'armes. The houses are chiefly in ruins. In the old citadel are a great many houses in better condition, but no noble public building. The walls have a parapet, and towers at equal distances, of

JOSEPH'S HALL.

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THE GREAT HALL OF JOSEPH.

two or three stories high, built of solid stone, with vaulted roofs; in each of which are cannon. After quitting the Divan, we visited the hall of Joseph, a noble apartment, but in ruins; four enormous pillars of red granite sustained the roof, which is now gone. They are each of one piece. The capitals are Egyptian, and seem to have been removed from some more ancient building. The walk along the ramparts on this side is as beautiful as on the other: the view from it commands the town of Cairo, with its numerous minarets, and public buildings: beyond lies the Nile, the island of Rhoda covered with large sycamore trees, the verdant plain, and the Pyramids. The line of forts erected on the different hillocks from the citadel to the Nile, are seen to a considerable distance on the left: the aqueduct of old Cairo extends to the same distance on the left, and the noble mosque which I have before mentioned forms a bold foreground to the view. On this side of the fort are mounted many cannon and mortars. The Turks considered the citadel more as a place to overawe the town, than to protect it from foreign enemies. When first built, the use of gunpowder was unknown, and it was equally valuable in both points of view, as it was too far from el Mokattem to be injured from it by any thing except artillery. We next passed to a very noble room, supported by numerous pillars of granite, each a single piece: all of these, except four, were Egyptian; the others had Corinthian capitals. The roof had fallen in, but at a great height a cornice of wood four feet broad still remained, ornamented with inscriptions from the Koran. Mr. Salt's drawings will give a better idea of these than any description. I believe all the pillars to have belonged to some more ancient building. Opposite to this room is another, which overlooked the city: it had been intirely

covered with mosaic, of which a considerable part remained, though the buildings themselves had fallen to ruins, and were now filled with rubbish, instead of being occupied by the manufacturers, who used here to embroider the rich covering of the Caaba at Mecca. It is indeed a melancholy circumstance, that the many splendid remains of the ancient Sultauns, which the citadel contains, should be so rapidly disappearing. The outer walls may continue to defend the garrison within, and the massive columns of Egyptian architecture may survive the destruction of the apartments they were meant to adorn; but civil broils will destroy every other vestige, that could point out the citadel of Cairo as the former abode of monarchs. Near this is the mortar battery, whence Hurshid Pacha bombarded the town during the late disturbances. We visited a round tower, somewhat resembling the castle of Saint Angelo at Rome: it consists of three stories, with one chief apartment on each. The stair-case is excellent. Cannon are mounted on the tower. The whole is of stone with vaulted roofs, and is probably as old as the foundation of the citadel. We rode through the old citadel, but returned into town by that gate of the new by which we entered.

With my own party and Mr. Macardle, I visited the Greek Archbishop of Mount Sinai. He is a handsome young man, of considerable talent, an excellent scholar, and liberal in all his sentiments. He was educated at St. Petersburg, and spoke French fluently. The convent is small but extremely neat. He informed me that it was founded in the third century. He had a good library of books, among which was Norden, and several other writers on Egypt. He had not got Niebuhr; I therefore requested his acceptance

of my copy, which I could easily replace in Europe. He informed me that there were forty monks of the order of St. Catharine, here and at Mount Sinai; that they had convents at Jerusalem, in Asia Minor, and in Russia; the whole number of fathers amounting to about two hundred. He said that he wished to get out of this place, but that the Arabs demanded one hundred thousand piastres every time the doors of a convent were opened to admit a new archbishop, and that they were not at that moment in a situation to pay such a sum. This is the only occasion on which the gates are ever opened. All visitors ascend to a window by a basket, as in the other convents among the Arabs. I observed, that he would be nearly as much a prisoner at Mount Sinai as here; he replied, that there he should have a fine climate, and an excellent and large garden to walk in, which is surrounded by a high wall, and is separated from the convent, but communicates by a subterraneous passage. He would also have the consolation of being in a most holy place, for St. Catharine's of Mount Sinai is as much venerated in the Greek church, as Jerusalem is in the Catholic; pilgrimages are made to it, and the good fathers dispersed over Europe and Asia, make large collections from the faithful, which are remitted to Mount Sinai, and enable the archbishop to sustain the expense of his entry, and of nearly feeding all the Arabs around, who, on this account, willingly convoy the provisions from Egypt, without which the reverend monks could not exist in the desert. He informed me that one tower exists that was built by Helena; but that the rest of the convent was erected by Justinian. I enquired respecting manuscripts; he said he was informed that there were some, but of what kind he could not yet say, as he had never been there.

He presented us with sherbet, coffee, and liqueurs. Every thing was neat, and had an air of affluence. The library, which they used as a council chamber, was filled with an infinity of small pictures of different saints, most of which had crowns of real gold inserted, and some had the whole drapery in the same strange way. There was a small picture of a beautiful St. Catharine, without any of this meretricious ornament. Monseigneur attended me to the door, and declared he was determined to venture out, for the first time, to have the pleasure of paying his compliments to me.

February 21.—The scenery from the Citadel had excited in me so great a degree of admiration, that I determined Mr. Salt should take a set of views from it, which would answer as a Panorama. Early in the morning he therefore set off, with one of the Chaous Bashi to protect him, and Mr. Thomaso to interpret for him. He continued there several hours, and met with no molestation.—The Archbishop of Mount Sinai sent me a present of apples, pomegranates, and almonds, from St. Catharine's, also a large flask of Cyprus wine, which he assured me was ten years old.

February 22.—It was impossible to persuade Mohammed Ali that my objects were not political, and as the English had ever been on friendly terms with the Beys, and latterly their protectors against the Porte, he was extremely jealous of my having any communication with them. The most distant hint of visiting Upper Egypt, therefore, excited alarm, and I was obliged to abandon the idea altogether.

The Archbishop of Mount Sinai fulfilled his promise, and this day paid me a visit, accompanied by two of his clergy. They were much interested by the Axum inscription, which he requested me

to lend him, that he might endeavour to translate it. One of his attendants read a great part of it with facility. Mr. Salt again went to the Citadel, and sketched a proportion of the view, in defiance of a high wind, which raised clouds of dust among the ruins.

February 23.—I went to the mass of the Franciscans of Jerusalem. As it was Lent, the organ did not play. The voices were fine. Afterwards we accompanied the Superior to the Refectory, where, according to their constant custom, coffee, liqueurs and gingerbread were served round. The custom of taking liqueurs is very general.

February 24.—Signor Filippo Agnelli, who is employed by the Emperor of Germany to preserve animals, and collect other curiosities in this country, arrived to-day from Damietta at Mr. Macardle's, and immediately waited on me. As I knew that his Imperial Majesty was much attached to natural history, I gave Signor Agnelli a very large collection of shells, which I had found in the Red Sea, and every duplicate in my possession, either from India, Arabia, or Abyssinia, to be presented, in my name, to his master. The skins of the Abyssinian birds, which Mr. Salt had brought from Tigré, being infested with vermin, I was fearful that they would never reach England in a state to be described: anxious to preserve them for the public, as many specimens were perfectly new, I thought it of little consequence whether they were in my own cabinet or another's, and therefore gave the whole, amounting to one hundred specimens, to Signor Agnelli, who promised that he would immediately begin to put them in order. He was extremely delighted, as, with all his assiduity, he had been able in three years to make no very large collection. At Suez, in particular, during a residence of three

months, he had obtained fewer shells than I had done in fifteen days. Alone, and without servants, it is impossible to accomplish much, for the Arabs will do nothing that gives them trouble, even for money.

It rained very heavily last night. The houses are ill adapted for wet weather. Mr. Macgie was driven from his bed, and my room was deluged with rain. The thermometer was at 55°.

February 25.—We had hitherto intended to visit the Pyramids on the 27th, but at present we are afraid of a disappointment. Elfi Bey has appeared in the neighbourhood, and his advanced guard is said to be within an hour's march of Gheza, and he himself within four. He has a force of ten thousand men, and may mean to march into Lower Egypt and spread devastation, as he did once before. If so, we may be able in a day or two to go thither; if not, it will be impossible, although we have nothing to fear from him, who is attached to the English, and ever speaks with gratitude and delight of his reception in England. Yet, mixed as his army is with Arabs and Albanians, it might be dangerous to fall in with them; besides, Mohammed Ali would have fair grounds of suspicion that I had some political intention in meeting him. That he has already taken the alarm at Elfi's approach, was hinted to me to day by Malum Gali, the Coptic receiver general of the revenue of Egypt, here called the Bas Kateb, a respectable and able young man. He excused himself from not having called before, by assuring me that he had not heard of my arrival, which is very possible, as he is occupied from morning till night. He said, laughing, that he felt himself quite comfortable at escaping for a few minutes from incessant persecution; but at that very moment a fellow, who had chased him to the British House, entered with a paper, on

which he laughed, and took his leave. I have no doubt that he was sent by the Pacha to give me the hint not to see Elfi. After all the attentions I had received from His Highness, I would, on no account, do any thing that might be disagreeable to him; besides, were he to have any suspicions, in such critical times as these, all the Europeans might suffer for it. A private individual might do much, which I cannot, from the consequence they have been pleased, unfortunately in some respects for me, to attach to my title, which has been increased by my having a Company's cruiser to bring me to Suez. Malum Gali has promised to give me information of Elfi's motions.

Hammed Bey Elfi el Sageer (or the younger) died yesterday. He was a brave, active, young man, and will be a severe loss to the old Elfi, who is no great soldier. He has made his Khasmadar, or Treasurer, Bey, in his stead.

Mr. Salt continued his labours at the citadel, accompanied by Captain Rudland and the Chaous Bashi. He told me they were very busy there casting ball, and that the flying artillery was gone out.

I paid a visit to Signor Filippo, who shewed me his whole collection. The fishes are most beautifully preserved; those of the Nile are very curious, and some of an enormous size. I was surprised to see among them a species of the same genus as that which blows itself up, and is covered with spines. I thought it was peculiar to the sea. He was so kind as to give me several specimens, and to offer to teach any of my people how to preserve them, and the birds. He has been several years in the Emperor's service, and told me that he once preserved for his Majesty a favourite negro, whom he has seated on the back of a camel.

February 26.—If Elfi were at the Pyramids, it seems he has marched on; for his Highness sent this evening to inform me, that his horses were ready for to-morrow, and that he had ordered the Governor of Gheza to attend me with all his troops, and to answer with his head for my safety. I deferred our journey till Sunday, as Saturday is the great festival of Beiram, and it would have been rather hard to take the good Governor away from his people on such an occasion.

February 27.—I received, from the Archbishop of Mount Sinai, the Greek inscription and a translation of it, with a very flattering letter. The weather was very cold, with showers of rain. The thermometer 52° in the morning.

February 28.—Mr. Salt went again to the Citadel, but was soon obliged to return, as they began to celebrate the festival of Beiram, by firing musquetry with balls; an amusement by no means safe for the by-standers. I went to see his Highness pass to the mosque, which he did in very great state. Some of his Chaous Bashi were most magnificently dressed. His two sons preceded him: the eldest is a fine boy; the second is less handsome, but is said to be intelligent. Some young Mamelukes attended him, whose complexions were fairer than any Europeans, and, if they were not painted, the vermilion tint of their cheeks was superior to any thing I ever saw in nature. His Highness was plainly dressed, and, as at my interview, incessantly stroked his beard.

March 1.—The French Agent notified to his Highness that he had official intelligence from Constantinople of the peace being signed between France and Austria, and of a very great victory obtained over the Russians by Bonaparté. He, at the same time,

H. Salt Esq.r Pinx.

Mitan sculp.

THE PYRAMIDS FROM OLD CAIRO.

requested the Pacha to lend him some cannon to fire a salute on the occasion. The Pacha replied that he did not believe his story, and that if he did, he would not let him have the cannon.

March 2.—The disturbances in Egypt during the last three years, had rendered a visit to the Pyramids too dangerous for individuals to venture, and I, consequently, had numerous applications from the Europeans who happened to be in Cairo, to permit them to attend me, with which, of course, I complied. The Pacha supplied my party with horses, and sent two Chaous Bashi to take care of us, as usual. About eleven we quitted the city, and passing among the innumerable hillocks, composed of broken pottery, decayed bricks, and sand, which rise to a great height between New and Old Cairo, at length reached the convent of St. George, which is within the walls of the Citadel of the latter. It consists of a lofty round tower, divided into many apartments, and some square buildings, both of great antiquity.

As the air is salubrious, and the vicinity to the river and the groves of the island of Rhoda renders the scene more pleasing than the narrow streets of the city, it was formerly the custom for many respectable families to come out and reside here during the summer months, the good fathers supplying them with provisions, and by the presents they received in return, adding somewhat to their own scanty pittance. The heavy contributions which Mohammed Ali was obliged to levy on that part of the country, which is under his control, in order to satisfy the rapacity of the Albanian banditti, who raised him to power, have ruined numbers, and have reduced the monks of St. George to so wretched a state, that they have been obliged to abandon this large convent, and retire to a smaller

within the city. They however came out in order to receive me, as I wished to sleep at their house, that I might have the whole day before us to reach the Pyramids. The church is neat and clean, and, as it is dedicated to the Patron saint of the English, a corner is reserved for the sepulture of such of that nation as die here. The pictures are in the worst style of modern Greek art.

Our party did not consist of less than forty, who, after resting, determined to take a walk, and look at the Mekias. This building has ever been a greater object of curiosity than it seems to merit, though the pillar in the center is very handsome. This is divided into numerous compartments, as is shewn in the drawing of Norden, and affords the means of ascertaining the rise of the Nile, with which the bason that surrounds it has a communication. Every traveller either has visited it, or wishes to have it supposed that he did so. Pococke's drawings are always so bad, that the sins of omission and commission, which cover his view of the Mekias, do not lead me to doubt of his having seen it. But that Mr. Bruce should have preferred his naked and erroneous view to the perfect drawing of Norden, if he had ever himself seen it, I cannot believe; yet so he has done; for the drawing given in his work is an exact copy from that of Pococke. Mr. Bruce, as usual, talks of the difficulty of his attempt to see it, and this certainly was the case at all times to a native Christian, but never to a Frank, except during the time of the rise of the river, when, from political reasons, all access would be denied.

We wandered for some time among the ruins of a palace which stood around the Mekias, and had several flights of steps descending to the river. A mosque had formerly been its chief ornament,

the roof being supported by Corinthian pillars of Italian marble. But even this holy edifice had not been spared during the civil wars between the Beys and Albanians, and the artillery of both parties had equally contributed to its destruction when they occupied the opposite sides of the river, and were constantly firing at each other.

Our next visit was to a Jewish synagogue, which had nothing remarkable in it, but its filth; and we afterwards examined a Coptic church, which was not only more cleanly, but was an object of curiosity, from its being believed to contain the cell, in which the Virgin Mary resided during her abode in Egypt. It is a vault under the body of the church, containing an ovenlike aperture, where the infant Jesus was supposed to have slept. Many of our attendants took the opportunity of so free an access, to chip off small bits of wood from the beams which supported the roof, to wear as amulets about their persons.

We returned to the convent and found an excellent dinner provided for me, and plenty of good wine sent from the Residency. I invited all the gentlemen to partake with me. This was the day fixed on by the French Agent to celebrate the victories of his master. He had invited the Pacha's interpreter to be of the party, but his Highness ordered him, "to go and dine with the General (as he always called me), and accompany him to the Pyramids." I was very glad to see him join our party, as it added a consequence to us, and greatly increased our security by the certainty which every one felt, that if any thing should be wrong, he would report it to his master.

March 3.—We were all up by five, and immediately passed the

river to Gheza, but, when there, discovered that the Governor, who had been ordered to attend us with all his garrison, had gone out, in the night, to a neighbouring village, in consequence of the appearance of a Bey, and some Mamelukes of Elfi in its vicinity. Our friend the interpreter went to him, and soon returned with assurances, that the Governor had certain information of the enemy being one thousand strong, that he believed they were come down solely to attack us, and that therefore he had felt it his duty to communicate to his Highness this unexpected circumstance, and must wait for his commands before he could venture to move. He very politely added, that as he hoped to be able to make them retire in the course of the day, I might not like to return to Old Cairo, in which case his house was very much at my service. I declined his invitation, and prefered lounging during the day in the groves and gardens of Rhoda, while the Interpreter went to the Pacha. He joined us again at dinner, and brought a message from his Highness, expressing his extreme regret at what had happened, assuring me that he would send over troops sufficient to protect me, and that his household cavalry, and the French Mamelukes, should attend me as as a body guard to the Pyramids.

March 4.—We sent over our horses yesterday evening to avoid delay, and were up early: but our impatience was useless. It was ten before a Mameluke appeared, and then the guards were not arrived. At length, to my great surprise, I was informed, that Taher Pacha, Mohammed Ali's nephew, was arrived, and sitting on the bank of the river. I immediately went to pay my compliments to him, when he received me very civilly, and offered me a share of the carpet on which he was sitting, which I accepted. He

told me his uncle had sent him over to Gheza to make arrangements for my visit to the Pyramids, that he was taking over many men, that more were passing by Boulac, and that he expected, in the course of the evening, every thing would be settled, in which case he would send to me. He now began to joke with the Mameluke boys around him, and obliged one to own himself a French lad, and speak in his native language to us. He was an odd looking, little animal in his Mussulmaun dress, and carried his master's snuff-box. The conversation then turned on Jidda, and he told me he was going there when Egypt was quiet. I warned him against the Sheriffe; he replied, he knew him well, and would take care of him.

I should myself much doubt if Taher Pacha will ever go to Jidda. His uncle was appointed originally, but when the revolution gave him Egypt, he appointed this young man in his stead, but has hitherto kept him here. The Porte can hardly choose to give an office of such high respectability to so young a man, and the relation of a person whom they already fear. I have been told that, in general, the Pachalic of Jidda has been considered as an honourable banishment for life, as the Sultaun himself is obliged to rise to receive the minister of so holy a place on his return, to avoid which, as being derogatory to the dignity of the sovereign, he is never recalled.

I heard an anecdote of the present Sultaun Selim, which, if true, does him the highest honour. On his accession, the Pacha of Jidda was his tutor, for whom he had the greatest regard. He determined to recall him, but the Divan remonstrated, representing the indecorum of his getting up to receive him. "What," said he, "shall I be ashamed to get up to my second father? no, let him be sent

for immediately." He accordingly arrived, and Selim not only rose, but advanced to the door to receive him, and, after embracing, placed him by his side.

When all his troops were over, Taher Pacha got up himself, and, smacking his open hand against mine, took his leave with great good humour. He is young and rather handsome, has the appearance of being good tempered, but did not seem to possess much ability. He sent in the evening to say, that every thing was settled, and that I might come over in the morning.

March 5.—Our party passed the river as soon as it was light, but Mussulmauns are not to be hurried, and it was some time before the governor of the town joined us with a large body of cavalry, and a piece of curricle artillery. We crossed the plain direct for the Pyramids, while Taher Pacha kept between us and some villages to the north, where the Mamelukes and Arabs were said to be. He had with him full two thousand infantry, and another piece of curricle artillery, a force more than sufficient for our protection. I cannot say that I was struck with that astonishment, which many have expressed on approaching these vast masses. The idea of a Pyramid is easily conceived, and consequently surprise cannot enter the feelings of a person when he first beholds them. When, however, reason points out the prodigious labour, with which they must have been erected, and the incomprehensible motives, which could have led to such vast exertions, astonishment gradually increases, and the mind is lost in conjecture and admiration.

On reaching the entrance into the great Pyramid, we were joined by many Arabs, residing in the neighbouring vaults, who offered

their services in assisting us among the ruins, and clearing the passage that led to what is usually called the Sepulchral chamber, from the sand that had accumulated in it. This was rapidly executed, and the flambeaux being lighted, the party entered. The different passages and chambers have been so often visited and described, that it is impossible any new discovery can be made by a modern traveller. The French have ascertained the actual dimensions, and it is curious, that Diodorus should have been proved to be correct, who has stated the base to be seven hundred feet, and the elevation six hundred. The British army had leisure to visit it frequently, and the officers have added their testimony to that of their predecessors, that the great pyramid is built of a stone found in the vicinity, and of which the rock itself on which it is erected, is composed. If ever this, or the others, were covered with marble or granite, not a vestige now remains to prove the fact; but it is probable that they were at least intended to be thus adorned, from the passages being of the finest white marble, and the chambers of the red granite of Upper Egypt.

If it were dubious in the time of Herodotus, by whom, or for what purpose, the pyramids were constructed, it is scarcely possible that modern ingenuity should clear away the deeper gloom with which the course of ages has covered the mystery; yet every person, who has written on the subject, has embraced some decided opinion, and many have laboured hard to prove, what must ever remain doubtful. Among these, Monsieur Maillet is the most remarkable, who has described the process of closing the great pyramid, as accurately as if he had been present when it was done. I am myself inclined to believe that it never was intended to be shut

up, nor that any pains were taken to conceal the approaches to the great chamber; for if such were the case, nothing could be more absurd, than to line the passages, from the entrance to the extremity, with a highly polished white marble, which would have served as a guide to any depredator, and would have precluded the possibility of his erring either to the right or left; whereas, if the passage had been formed of the same materials as the rest of the building, nearly a moiety of it might have been destroyed before its contents could have been discovered. If, on the contrary, the pyramid were intended to be open for the celebration of any of the sacred mysteries, the lining of polished marble to the passage, and the splendid coating of granite, which adorns the chambers, would be at once accounted for, and the sarcophagus might have been destined to contain the supposed body of Osiris during the annual lamentations for his loss.

The usual account of Cheops having finished it for his own interment, seems hardly reconcileable with the account of Herodotus, of his being buried in an island surrounded by the Nile, which might be *under*, but could not be *in* the pyramid, from its being elevated one hundred feet above the level of the plain. The ridiculous account of the Arab historians, of the body of a king having been discovered adorned with jewels, when Sultaun Almamoun opened the pyramid, is unworthy of consideration, for it appears that the passage was open in the time of Strabo and Pliny, who mention the oblique descent, and the well of eighty-six cubits. The conjecture of Pococke seems worthy of more attention, who believes that the whole point of the high land, which protrudes due east into the plain of the Nile, was intended to be covered with an

uniform pile, of which the existing pyramids were to form a part, and that others were to be erected, to correspond with the great pyramid and the third. The second pyramid would then be in the centre, with the sphinx in front of it. The regularity of the excavations which surround this building on two sides, leaving an opening to the east, and the fact that the causeways extend in the same direction, seem to prove, that this was intended as the front of the pile, and thereby confirm the conjecture of our learned countryman.

Mr. Bruce, who certainly visited the pyramids, has given us only one observation, and that is totally contrary to the truth, viz. "that large fragments of the rock are visible in the roof of the great "chamber, where the sarcophagus stands, and also in the top of "the roof of the gallery, as you go up into that chamber." I have before stated that the pyramid itself is built of a stone found on the spot, but that the gallery is lined with white marble, and the chambers with the finest granite.

Among the renegado French, who escorted me, was a man, who said he had accompanied Bonaparte on his visit to the pyramids, and assured me that that General had sent down a man into the well, with a cord fastened to him, but that, after he had descended some distance, they found it impossible to get him out, probably from some curve in the passage. It is to be regretted that the experiment failed, for the description of Herodotus gives sufficient grounds for believing that we are hitherto unacquainted with many of the mysteries of this gloomy building.

Taher Pacha sent so frequently to hasten my departure, that, at length, we were obliged, however unwillingly, to comply. He im-

mediately prepared to attack the Mamelukes, who were lurking in the date groves; but his Albanians thought it safest to proceed so slowly, that the enemy had sufficient time to retire before they were within reach. Taher Pacha told them plainly, that they were only fit to extort money from the peaceable natives, but that they would never be induced to seize it from an armed enemy. Our cavalry attended us across the plain to Gheza, a distance of only six miles, but rendered very fatiguing by the cultivation of the ground, over which we were obliged to move, and by the heat of the sun passing through an unclouded sky. We were all heartily fatigued when we reached Cairo, after having been in motion for twelve hours.

March 6th.—I received a letter from Captain Court, informing me that they were in the greatest distress for water and provisions. At my request, Mr. Macardle very kindly sent off his servant to Schech Chedid, desiring him instantly to forward to Suez, forty sheep and three bullocks.

I was this day to visit his Highness the Pacha, to take my leave. I mentioned to him the distress of the Panther for water. He instantly ordered a letter to be written to the Governor on the subject: it was sealed in my presence, and delivered to me to be forwarded. I observed that he watched the Secretary very closely the whole time the seal was in his hand. He presented me a sabre with his own hand, requesting I would keep it for his sake. His attendants gave one to Mr. Macgie, Mr. Salt, Captain Rudland, and my servant. Shortly afterwards, I was presented with a rich pellisse of sable, worth here about two thousand piastres. I immediately put my right arm into it, and again sat down. He made a great

many professions of regard, and apologies for any neglect that might have taken place. On asking if he had any commands for England, he requested me to procure him a good pair of pistols, which I, of course, promised. He pointed out his two sons to me, who were standing on my right hand. On my taking leave, he rose up and spoke to me—a most pointed compliment, and contrary to his religion, as well as his dignity. On quitting the room, I put my left hand into the pellice, and rode home in it.

March 7.—We hired a boat which had been taken by the Pacha to carry up the troops, but which, at our request, he immediately discharged. I sent his Highness a diamond ring, more than equal in value to his presents. He requested me, through the interpreter, to procure him a gun, as well as a pair of pistols, and promised that he would not be behind hand in making a suitable return.

March 8.—I received a message from the widow of the celebrated Murad Bey, who had been the favourite slave of Ali Bey, saying, that she was very sorry she had not seen me; that she could not come out, from fear the people should cut off her head; that she therefore hoped I would write, and send to her a short account of my travels. I own that I had not the inclination, even if I had had the time, to comply with so reasonable a request.

March 9.—I called, in the morning, on the Archbishop of Mount Sinai, to take my leave of him, and to request that, on his arrival at his monastery, he would examine the manuscripts, and let me hear from him if there were any thing that was valuable; which he promised to do. He certainly had not weaned himself from the vanities of this world, for he shewed us, with evident complacency, his mitre, and a brilliant cross, which had been given him by the

Emperor Alexander. The poverty of his convent, I suspected to be an excuse for the delay at Cairo, while the real cause was a lurking hope, that he might be able to obtain some preferment in Europe, and thereby avoid a perpetual seclusion on Mount Sinai. We determined to quit Cairo on the morrow, and therefore sent our baggage to Boulac, and hired a small boat for the cook and provisions.

The rank which the Pacha had been pleased to bestow upon me, of General, and the consequence which he annexed to my arrival, were so far fortunate as they enabled me to see the pyramids, and every thing that was interesting in Cairo, but the expense which it brought on me was very great. The journey to the pyramids cost me above four hundred dollars, and the visits to the Pacha three hundred more, in presents to his servants. The Bedowee Arabs brought in many Egyptian antiquities, which I purchased under the guidance of my friend Signor Filippo, before whose arrival I had, as is usual, been most completely imposed on. My stay had been rendered very comfortable by the unremitting attentions of Mr. Macardle, a countryman by extraction, though born in Italy, and whose long residence in Egypt enabled him to be particularly useful to a stranger. My worthy friend Mr. Macgie, who had attended me with the utmost anxiety, during repeated indispositions, was now obliged to return to the ship. Chedid undertook to provide him with a Tackterouane, and to protect him to Suez, with the different articles which he had purchased for the officers and crew of the Panther.

CHAPTER XI.

Departure from Grand Cairo.—Arrival at Rosetta.—Conference with Carlo Rosetti.—Voyage to Alexandria.—Reception there.—Visit to the Governor.—Journey along the Coast to Rosetta.—Preparations for a Tour in the Delta.—Berimbal.—Voyage on the Lake Bourlos.—Boltine.—Transactions there.—Arrival at Damietta.—Account of Antiquities found there.—Observations on Mr. Savary's Account of ancient Damietta.—Visit to the Governor.—Descriptions of the Lake Menzale, and the Ruins of Thouna.—Visit to Matarieh.—Account of the Schech.—Return to Damietta.—Voyage to Mansoura.—Journey to Timai in the Desert.—Description of the Ruins there.—Journey from Mansoura to Bahbeite.—Remains of the Temple of Isis there.—Journey across the Delta by Mahallet-el-Kebeer to Foua.—Dispute with the Albanians there, and its consequences.—Arrival at Rosetta.—Observations on the Delta.—Return to Alexandria.

CHAPTER XI.

MARCH 10.—ABOUT ten we mounted the Pacha's horses for the last time. Mr. Macardle and Mr. Aziz attended us. We passed by the Osbeckia, a large square covered with grain, but which the French had planted, and laid out in a very beautiful style. Every tree was however cut down by the Turks as soon as they were gone. Here was the palace of Elfi Bey, the best in the town, and where Bonaparté lived: it was set on fire by the Arnauts when they bombarded Mohammed Pacha, who had fortified it, and the outer wall alone remains. Boulac is completely in ruins. It joined Cairo in its revolt against the French, though an open town, and was taken by storm in about a quarter of an hour. It was given up for three days to the plunder of the troops, who set it on fire in several places. Mr. Rosetti had here an excellent house and garden; the latter was destroyed by the French, the former by the Turks. He has now a small house pleasantly situated on the river, with excellent warehouses. We here took our farewell breakfast, and about two embarked, taking Mr. Thomaso with us to secure supplies. The wind was tolerably fair, but our Rais, or Captain, had not all his people on board, and therefore crossed from side to side At length they came, and we set off in earnest. I was in a canja, the boat described by Mr. Bruce, and looked about for his main yard two hundred feet long; ours was but one hundred; though I under-

stood few were larger, and those only a very little. I looked also in vain for his little stick, with which a single man was to move so prodigious a weight as a yard of one hundred feet, with a proportionable sail annexed. Alas! the present race has lost this valuable discovery, which, not even Mr. Bruce's elegant drawing and section could preserve, and it is now necessary to employ seven or eight men to dip the yard, and change it from one side to the other. Our cabin was comfortable, though low, and we were furnished with excellent provision through the care of Mr. Thomaso. The Rais went on till about two, when he stopped for day-light to pass a place considered as dangerous, in consequence of piles driven into the river to turn a part of the stream into the Damietta branch, which was nearly dry. This work succeeded, but occasioned the loss of several vessels.

March 11.—The river winds so considerably, that every half hour the wind must be adverse, let it come from what point it will. It blew fresh towards the middle of the day, and drove us against a bank, where we were obliged to track. We reached Menuf about twelve, but our cook-boat did not make its appearance till three. During our stay here I received a very polite message from the Kacheef, saying that he should be happy to see me, or would pay me a visit. I went to him. He was a sensible Turk, who made very civil speeches. He wished to know if I wanted any thing. He expressed a regret that, as he had not many sheep here, he had been able to send me only two, but had a bullock at my service if I wished for it. This I declined, and soon took my leave. I found the sheep had arrived, with a cargo of bread, and some coffee. A present was requisite in return. I sent him a muslin embroidered shawl, and, in consequence of a hint, given to my servant, two

bottles of brandy. He was highly pleased with both, declared the latter excellent, and gave my Arab servant twenty-five piastres. My cook-boat had leaked; the Kacheef offered me another; but as the leak was stopped, I did not like to lose time. We were in motion about five, and sailed all night with a fair wind.

March 12.—The wind continued fair and fresh all day. We passed rapidly through a country generally in a high state of cultivation, and crowded with villages, but which afforded no variety of scene. We landed occasionally when the windings of the river made the wind adverse, and tracking necessary. We entered the villages without the smallest fear, and uniformly met with a civil reception from the inhabitants, who seemed to be wretchedly lodged, and to take care to have no visible property. We did not stop to view Rahmanie, celebrated by the engagement between the French and English, but hastened on to Rosetta, where we arrived at ten, and were most hospitably received by Mr. Petrucci, the British Vice Consul.

March 13.—In the morning Mr. Rosetti, who acts as Consul General for the Emperors of Russia and Germany, paid me a visit. He is now very old, having acted a considerable part in the revolutions which have taken place from the time of Ali Bey till the arrival of the French. His figure is dignified, and his faculties still unimpaired. He has several monopolies for the government, and still carries on a more extensive trade than any other person. After the usual compliments, and my having returned him thanks for the invaluable assistance he had afforded me by sending Mr. Thomaso to Suez, and permitting him to accompany me to Rosetta, he inquired of me if I had known Mr. Bruce, which immediately

led to a conversation respecting that traveller. He said, that he had known him well, while on his way to the Red Sea; that he had accompanied him in his canja to Cairo, and had been constantly with him during his residence there; that he had therefore begun to read his book as soon as he received it, but had never finished it, from finding so many mis-statements respecting Ali Bey, all the adventures with whom were, to his knowledge, romances. "You may know," said he, "that Bruce never saw Ali Bey, by the description he gives of the diamonds in his turban: every one will inform you, that no Mameluke ever wore any jewels there; it is contrary to their custom." Rosetti was in Italy when Bruce returned, and saw him, as he says, at Venice. He and another gentleman were shewn the drawings made in Egypt and Abyssinia; but the latter observed that they were in the Italian manner, which so extremely offended Bruce, that he refused to exhibit any more. I expressed to him my regret that he had not himself given us an account of Ali Bey, and the revolutions which had since taken place, a task which no one was so competent to execute. He replied, that he had once begun a work of that sort, but that his partner had committed it to the flames in a time of tumult, fearful that his enemies might seize it, and use it as an instrument to injure him with the Beys. He said he was now too old to begin it again; but at my request promised that he would mark in Savary; Volney, and the other authors who had written on Egypt, what was true, and what was false.

March 14.—I had the pleasure in the morning of hearing from my friend Captain Court, that the Pacha's letter had had a very beneficial effect on the Dola of Suez, who expressed the greatest anxiety to comply with his Highness's orders; in consequence of

which they received a daily supply of water, but the quality was so indifferent, that the scurvy began to appear among the sepoys; and he feared, if the vessel were detained much longer for Major Missett's dispatches, that many would suffer severely. I hoped that the supply of forty sheep and three bullocks, which I learned from Mr. Macardle had actually been sent off by Chedid, would counteract the ill effects of the brackish water. After having been so fortunate as not to lose a single man, during a continuance of thirteen months in the Red Sea, out of nearly ninety persons, it would have been painful to see them perish, when about to return to the comforts of India.

March 16.—Mr. Petrucci yesterday gave an entertainment to Mr. Rosetti, and the Vice Consul of the Seven Isles: we this day dined with Mr. Rosetti. In the morning, a notorious Albanian chief paid me a visit, attended by a banditti of his countrymen. This man was six feet high, and universally admitted to be the greatest liar, plunderer, and murderer, among the Albanians.

March 22.—On the 20th all our baggage was embarked on board a jerm, to sail for Alexandria, but we had scarcely quitted the shore when the wind came round to the westward, and blew so heavy a gale, that it was impossible to pass the Bogaz, or shoal at the mouth of the river; and even if that could have been done, no jerm would have ventured out with a foul wind, for there is no place in which shelter could be found between it and Alexandria. We yesterday went down to the mouth in Mr. Petrucci's boat, and found a very heavy surf beating on the shore, and shoals, though the wind had moderated. The fishermen were actively employed in the shallow water, and caught, while we were there, a great number of very fine mullet. The Mediterranean afforded me no interesting marine

productions on my first visit, and the arid sand of the sea shore was equally unproductive of vegetable curiosities.

March 23.—The swell having gone down, in consequence of the wind's coming round to the south, we sailed from Rosetta at half after five in the morning, accompanied by an intelligent young Italian, of the name of Cravazza, in the employment of Mr. Petrucci. An officer is constantly appointed to attend at the mouth of the river, to point out the course to the vessels passing. He is called the Captain of the Bogaz, and was at his station, anchored in the shallowest part, to pay his compliments, and ask for a present, which was given to him.

The wind was very fresh, but so far favourable that we could lay our course. After passing Aboukir it became more foul, but by a single tack we were enabled to reach the new harbour of Alexandria. As soon as the British flag was seen from the shore, the Major dispatched his interpreter, Mr. François, to receive me. I and my party descended into the boat, and immediately the fort of Pharos began a salute of eleven guns, a compliment which is only paid to Pachas of three tails. On the beach I was met by Major Missett, and the other members of the mission. The Consuls of the different European powers, not at war with Great Britain, sent their dragomans to attend me, and the Governor sent forty of his Chaous. I proceeded to the house of Mr. Briggs, the British Consul, where I found myself most excellently lodged.

The reception I met with in Egypt was most uncommonly flattering, and I felt the more pleased with it, as I found that it extremely mortified the French Agents. Mr. Drovetti, their Consul, could not contain his vexation. He exclaimed, "how very ridicu-

" lous to make such an uproar about a private individual!" but he well knew that, although in fact his observation were just, yet that I was on this occasion a public pageant, as no one believed that I had come without political motives; an idea which Major Missett encouraged, to counteract the intrigues of the French, whose agents had for some time unblushingly asserted, that England considered Egypt as of no consequence, and did not wish to keep up any connection with it. I received a message from the Governor of Alexandria, stating, that he was rejoiced to hear of my safe arrival, and that he would have paid his compliments to me in person, if he had not been particularly engaged. This was a Turkish compliment, and a very high one to a Christian, although untrue, for he was, in fact, perfectly at leisure; but he justly considered himself as entitled to the first visit.

March 24.—The different Consuls paid me a visit, and were received with due civility. A very respectable native, who acted as Surbaje, or chief magistrate of Alexandria, during the time the English were there, was also introduced to me. He had quitted Egypt with them, and retired to Malta, where he was astonished and gratified by a reception as friendly as if his assistance had still been required. He received from them a pension of ten shillings per day, on which he lived very comfortably, having a few villages of his own. He openly professed his attachment to the English, and refused to hold his former office under the Turks. He was nevertheless on very good terms with the present Governor, and highly respected by the Arabs, and inhabitants of the town. In the morning I visited the Governor, who had drawn out a considerable detachment of the Turkish soldiers, disciplined after the European

manner, who presented arms in a very good style; he himself, at the head of his household, received me at the outward door, and conducted me to the audience room, where I partook of the usual refreshments, sweatmeats, coffee and sherbet, after which he again escorted me to the street, when I was saluted by the Turkish frigates in the Old Harbour. Mr. Drovetti, the French Agent, wrote to me in the evening, expressing his regret that political circumstances put it out of his power to wait on me.

March 30.—On the 25th I returned the visits of the Consuls; on the 26th the Governor returned my visit, and on the 29th accepted an invitation to dine with Major Missett, on condition that we would dine with him the day following. He paid us the compliment of turning out the guard, and meeting us himself at the door. He showed us the whole of the house, which is new and elegant, particularly the hall of audience and the room over it, where we dined, which has a beautiful view of the Old Harbour. These rooms are richly ornamented with arabesque paintings and coloured glass, and are of a size well adapted to a sultry climate. The whole was built by a former Governor, who commanded when the French stormed the place, and who was beheaded by them. Emim Effendi, the Aga, was a Candiot, and belonged to the navy, having commanded a frigate before his elevation to the government. He had with him an adopted brother, Dervish Effendi, who with the Surbaje formed our Mussulmaun society. The dinner was excellent, particularly the pastry and confectionary. The whole was served in the European style, and the wine was freely drank by the whole party. Arab music was played during the dinner, and afterwards, the Aga and his brother amused us greatly by singing several

Greek and Turkish love songs. The whole passed off with great good humour, and it was a late hour before we took our leave.

April 13.—Our friend the Surbaje considered it as a compliment that we should dine with him, we therefore did so. His house was plain and neat, and his table well served, but not so splendidly as the Governor's. He informed me that he had no family, and only one wife, which he said was the custom of his family. Emim Aga and Dervish Effendi were of the party. Mr. Briggs gave a ball this day to the European inhabitants of respectability, at which several very pretty Italian girls were present: twelve couple danced English and Piedmontese dances, to a band composed of several violins, played on by gentlemen, and a large English harpsichord brought out by Elfi Bey, and which had been purchased, from his plunderers, for two hundred piastres.

April 19.—No vessel had arrived in which it was possible for us to sail, nor could we hear of any that was expected. Major Missett therefore had the goodness to write to Sir Alexander Ball, at Malta, representing my situation, and the ineligibility of my running the risk of falling into the hands of the French, with all my papers, and suggesting that an armed vessel should be sent for me. As however it would be full six weeks before we could receive an answer, I determined to visit Damietta, and the lakes that separate the Delta from the sea shore. Mr. Briggs, Captain Vincenzo Taberna, and his brother, accompanied us. In the morning I sent off our baggage and servants, by a jerm to Rosetta, where we were to make our arrangements for the journey, by the advice and with the assistance of Messrs. Rosetti and Petrucci, who were in the mean time to engage our Arab attendants. The Major gave a party at the gardens to

the Governor and the Surbaje, who afterwards took a farewell dinner with us.

April 20.—After an early breakfast we departed by the Rosetta gate, where we found Emim Aga seated, watching for our arrival to take leave, and wish us a good journey. He had lent us two tents, and had even extended his politeness so far as to offer to send a Turkish frigate with me and my party to Damietta. This I declined, as I did not consider the coast as a very safe one for unskilful seamen. Guards are not usually placed at the gates, but they were there that they might turn out and salute me. In short, it seemed the study of the Governor's life, to find out how he could oblige and compliment me. We passed by the Canopic gate, which is distinguishable from the hillocks of rubbish on each side. Thence the great road still remains open, passing between two lines of detached buildings, some of which are small, and being all broken open, shew evidently that they were tombs, the most perfect having a cavity within, of the size of a body, lined, like the cells of the catacombs, with a very hard red plaister.

It was nine when we reached a small fort, occupied by the disciplined troops of the garrison of Alexandria, to guard the narrow pass between the lakes of Mareotis and Aboukir, from the incursions of Elfi Bey and his Arab allies. The English cut away the neck of land on which the Alexandrian canal passed, in order to deprive the French of fresh water, and to re-form the Lake Mareotis, which would prevent the town from receiving any fresh supplies from the Arabs. The Turks found it necessary to reconstruct the embankment, that the water might again come to the town, and the celebrated Capitan Pacha, Hassan, employed a

Swedish engineer in the work, who has certainly done it well; but it is to be regretted that, instead of reconstructing a solid mound by sinking caissoons filled with stones, he had not carried the canal across the breach on arches, leaving a free passage underneath for the sea. By these means the strength of Alexandria would have been greatly increased as a military position, and its salubrity would have been promoted, by the passing of the hot winds over a large expanse of water. As it is, the lake is gradually drying up, and will soon become a salt marsh.

A boat was here waiting for us, in which we embarked, and with a fair breeze passed across the lake of Aboukir in two hours, to the narrow channel which opens into the sea; though there was little swell, yet the water was so shallow that we struck in getting over the bar, and our men were obliged to get out and push us on. The same pleasant breeze carried us through the Bay of Aboukir in an hour and a half, to the Lake of Edco, which we had no difficulty in entering, as the passage is wide and sufficiently deep when the swell is not great. A little before three we reached Edco, where we were cordially received by the Schech, who is much attached to the English, and to the Beys. He is a powerful Arab, and his town is of importance, from commanding the narrow passage along which the only road goes from Rosetta to Alexandria. It is his duty to allow no one to pass without permission from government; yet he was then suffering for having done so. A party of Osmanlis was going by at night, of whose approach he had no notice from government, and consequently fired on it. Mohammed Ali made the Governor of Rosetta send for him, promising that he should be permitted to return, but when there, he was detained in prison. Several

hundreds of his people came into the town, and by force liberated him, on which the beforementioned Albanian chief went against him, and he was obliged to compromise the business by paying twenty-five purses for having done his duty. He received us most kindly, presented his children, and gave us fowls, roast pigeons, and mutton. His village is prettily situated on a hill close to the lake. Mr. Petrucci had sent two horses for us; we procured the rest, and some asses for the servants, from the Schech. The first part of the road was over moveable sands, and very heavy: the date trees were frequently covered nearly to the top; the latter part was much harder, except close to Rosetta, where the date trees and sand began again. We reached Mr. Petrucci's before it was dark.

April 21.—The morning was occupied in receiving the visits of the different gentlemen of the place, and in preparing for our journey. Mr. Petrucci having dismissed Paulino his secretary for staying at Alexandria, at Major Missett's request, I invited him to join our party, which he was happy to do. The boat, with the rest of our baggage, arrived safely, after having been aground on the Bogaz, and nearly lost by a sudden squall from the S. E. which brought so much sand that they could not see the way. It blew a kamsim all day, but the heat was not nearly equal to the hot winds of India: we could walk out without great inconvenience. Mohammed Ali had withdrawn all the soldiers for Cairo; and not more than twenty remained in the town. The Albanian chief went off to day: he demanded large presents from the Europeans. Mr. Rosetti, who had some objects of trade to carry, gave him shawls and watches; the Vice Consul of the Seven Isles was bullied into a similar compliance; but Mr. Petrucci stood out, and positively refused to give him

any thing. On going away, he sent to say, he would make him repent it. We hired asses ourselves for the whole way to Damietta, at twenty piastres each.

April 22.—We sent on our servants and baggage in the morning for Berimbal. In the evening we went up the Nile, in Mr. Petrucci's canja, to the same place. We landed at Mr. Rosetti's country-house, to whom we paid our compliments, and then adjourned to our tents, where we learned that the Schech of the village had sent us bread and milk as a present, and had waited on us himself, promising to supply us with camels for the morrow.

April 23.—We were up at five; but only two camels were ready, and we required five. The Schech paid us a visit, and brought the others. The Commandant, who was a young Mameluke that left the service of his brethren for that of the Kiahia of Mohammed Ali, stopped, and sat for some time with us, as he was proceeding to Rosetta, to bring all the boats to the eastern bank of the river, that the Mamelukes might not pass over. At eight we set off, Mr. Rosetti accompanying us to the marsh by the Lake Bourlos, which we reached in half an hour. At the time of the rising of the Nile, the lake reaches this spot, but we were an hour in passing the place where the water then was; our course was east, a little north. We here found several fishing boats, but to our great astonishment none had been hired for us, nor did we owe their being there to any thing but chance; a negligence in Mr. Petrucci which might have obliged us to return. We hired four to carry us and our baggage to Bourlos, for six Venetians. The wind was favourable when we left Berimbal, but when we embarked at twelve it was quite calm. The boats were built for fishing, decked at each

end, but at the stern sloping to a level with the water, for the facility of drawing in the nets. The lake, though salt, is only three or four feet deep, with a muddy bottom. The men, as it was calm, pushed us along with poles. We had ordered the Rais to keep together, but one boat went away to the south, and, in defiance of our signals for her to join us, continued her course till she reached the shore, and took in four fellows, for which act of disobedience we gave the Rais a good flogging. A fine breeze sprung up, with which we made tolerable way, but at four we were not a quarter of the way to Bourlos, and therefore determined to stop at a little island ahead. We reached it at five, and took a hearty dinner of cold mutton and pork, and our example was followed by our boatmen, in defiance of their religion. I prepared my couch as a tent; the other gentlemen procured a small tent about ten, and slept under it.

April 24.—We proceeded at eight, but the breeze being very fresh and unfavourable, we were obliged to tack frequently among the islands. Our Rais wished us much to stop at another island, where there was fresh water, but we positively refused, and obliged him to go on, though he pleaded that there was not water enough close to Bourlos, and that we could only go over the bank when the wind was fair and strong. At two we were off the spot he represented: it was indeed very shallow, and we were glad to send some of our party into a small fishing boat, to lighten our own, when the breeze blew very fresh, and we got safely over. The shoals near Bourlos obliged us to go a considerable round, before we could reach the channel by which the sea enters the lake. The current here, in consequence of the N. E. wind, was so strong that we were obliged to

track. It was dark when we reached the town, which is close to the Bogaz. The Schech came down to us, and invited us to his house, where we took coffee, and enquired about our way. We now found, to our infinite vexation, that instead of being able to procure every thing we might want here, as Mr. Petrucci had represented, (to whom we had left the arranging of our route), that three camels only were to be had, and that those were at Boltine, distant two hours march, where the Schech el Belled, and the Caimakan lived, and that there we must go for them. In short, we found that we had no business to come to Bourlos at all. Our other boats were not come up, so we desired the Schech to get us a dinner; he also offered us his house to sleep in. We sent off letters to Boltine, and determined to follow by water in the morning. Our tents came about eight.

April 25.—We were up early, and made a breakfast on coffee with cakes and eggs, sent from the Schech. We took a cordial leave of the old man, (who boasted he had a firmaun from the mighty Sultaun Selim himself), wishing never again to see a place which has nothing to recommend it, except a sight of the gambols of thousands of porpoises, that seem to take a particular delight in the rapidity of the current at the entrance, and the shallow, muddy waters of the lake. The French have built a tower on the opposite bank, which commands the passage. No one is now in it. The wind was N. W. and the current came in so rapidly, that the lake evidently rose. We reached Boltine in about an hour. It was impossible to go close to the shore, but by means of camels and mens' shoulders we got there dry. The Schech el Belled met us, and made his compliments. We found that the three camels were all that were to be had, and the number of asses was uncertain. The Caimakan

paid me a visit, and invited me to drink coffee at his house, which is a kind of caravanserai for travellers: this I accepted. He was a pleasant middle-aged man, who had been in Italy, and over all the Turkish dominions. He assured us it was impossible to procure any more camels even in three days, and expressed his astonishment at our taking so disagreeable a journey, as hence direct to Damietta, a twenty-one hours march, over a barren desert, where not even water could be procured. We then enquired if we could make our way any farther over the lake. He advised us to go to a place on the opposite side of the lake, within eight hours sail, where we could procure every thing we wanted, and should have a succession of villages to the Nile, on which we might embark for Damietta. He said he had been this way seven or eight times. We thanked him for his council, and determined to follow it. He expressed his regret at not having any thing in this place to offer us, for even water they were obliged to fetch from a distance. Date trees are in abundance, as, in their season, are melons and water-melons, the best in Egypt; but at that time none could be procured. We invited him to share our dinner, which he accepted. On returning to our tent, and telling the Schech el Belled our intentions of going by water, he started many objections. There would not be water sufficient, the Caimakan had only gone when the Nile was at the highest, and thought all other times were as good; the road was infested with thieves, &c. We suspected he was only interested to let us his camels and asses; we therefore sent to the Caimakan to request he would pay us a visit at the tent. He came, and soon obliged the Schech to acknowledge that the road was safe, and that there would be probably water enough, as the lake was rising. Orders were therefore issued

for the boats to be hired. We took a walk in the town, which is tolerably large and populous. The people were all extremely civil. The more respectable inhabitants came up to make their compliments and shake hands. We found a broken stone with some singular hieroglyphics. The Caimakan dined with us; he drank wine; but on the Schech el Belled's coming in, removed the glass, and placed water before him in a silver cup.

April 26.—We were up by break of day, but it was some time before we could hear of the Schech; at length he appeared, and told us that he had not been able to find the Rais of the boats: in short, nothing had been done respecting our voyage. We asked for our bread, which he had been ordered to prepare for our breakfast: he coolly answered by desiring us not to be in a hurry, it would be ready in time. Irritated at his impertinence, Vincenzo gave him a hearty blow or two with his pipe, and sent him away for it. We now found nothing was to be done without the Caimakan, who came immediately on our sending for him. After much conversation between him and the different boat people, he seemed to hesitate with respect to the eligibility of our going by water; the lake had rather fallen in the night instead of rising, and the opposite shore in this case was supposed not to have any water for two miles from the town. The intermediate space was mud, from three to four feet deep, over which we could not walk.

Convinced by their reasoning, we gave up our favourite plan. Three camels were ready, but the asses were to be sought for. At eleven nine only were found, and we were told there were no more. Our baggage required twenty; we therefore asked if we could hire a boat to carry part of our things by water. The Caimakan said, yes,

but it was some time before he could induce the Schech to find a Ras, and when he came, he said he had never been at Damietta—an impudent lie! as their chief trade is with that place and Rosetta. At length he owned he had, but asked fifty dollars for his jerm. Violently irritated at this, the Caimakan gave the whole party a good flogging, not excepting the Schech, which immediately reduced the price to twenty piastres. The business was now settled. We only kept our tents, a single change of linen, our beds, the cantines, and wine sufficient for three days; all the rest of our baggage we sent to the boat, under the care of Mr. Briggs's servant, and Fowler. I gave our friend the Caimakan a gun, in return for two sheep he had sent us: to the Schech I gave nothing. We set off by five, after many disputes, to go due north to a village close to the sea, whence they procure all their water, Boltine affording none. We reached it in two hours and a half. Our camels did not arrive till an hour afterwards. I was mounted on a horse of Mr. Airut, the English Vice Consul at Damietta; the rest were on asses. The village is a small collection of huts formed of date leaves. Most of the males were gone to the cultivated part of the Delta, to assist in carrying in the harvest; for this purpose they had taken their camels, which was the cause of our distress, as Bourlos and Boltine, at other seasons, could produce sixty or seventy.

April 27.—At a little after five we were up, and having procured six large jars of water, set off at six. We went on at a brisk pace along the sea shore till nine o'clock, when we halted. The camels did not arrive till eleven. The country was a perfect desert on our right hand. We pitched our tent, and waited till the heat of the day were over. At three we sent off the tent, and followed at

half after four. At half after seven we stopped on the banks of an inlet of the sea, which in the time of the rising of the Nile is the vent of a canal. This is probably one of the Pseudostoma, mentioned by Ptolemy, as lying between the Sebennitic and Phatnetic mouths of the Nile; but as it is the only one of which we could discover a trace during our journey, it is impossible to ascertain whether it be that of Pineptimi, or Diolcos; but, according to D' Anville, it would be the latter. This geographer has not laid down the country we were passing, with his usual accuracy; there does not exist a vestige of an inland narrow lake running parallel to the sea shore, nor is there any village, nor any ruins where he places Lashom.

Fearing we might want water, we had sent on an express to Damietta, ordering some to be sent to meet us: we found it waiting our arrival, to our great satisfaction, for ours was all gone. It blew very fresh in the night from the west.

April 28.—We observed the water had risen considerably, and were all obliged to pass on the camels. It was six when we mounted. At half after eight we were met by the Scheich of Salanie, the district opposite Damietta, and soon afterwards saw the town, and quitted the sea side to make direct for it. Near the Nile we were met by Signor Giorgio's brother, Signor Gabriel Airut, the Russian Consul. Under some trees, on the banks, carpets were spread, upon which we partook of coffee and sherbet. The Governor, Achmed Aga, had sent his boat for me. As we approached the vessels, they hoisted their colours, and fired a gun each. On landing, I was saluted with as many guns as they had mounted. I went directly to the house of the brothers Airuts, where I received the visits of the Vice Consuls, and among others of the French, who being also Swedish, came in

the latter capacity. I found a letter from Mr. Filippo Agnelli, recommending me to apply to a reverend Catholic priest, of the name of Padre Basilio, for any information I might want respecting Damietta. I sent for him, and he came immediately. I found him very intelligent. We walked with him in the evening to see the remains of an ancient obelisk mentioned by Andreossi, as forming the door-sill of the barracks. It is of granite, but nearly worn away. We next went to two pedestals, placed near the door of a merchant: the one had a Latin inscription, which Mr. Salt copied; it consisted of only two lines, in capital letters, and was as follows:

LICINIAE LF SECUNDAE
DOMITI CATULLI.

the other had one of Greek, which was partly concealed by a step, and turned topsy-turvy. We obtained permission from the owner to have it removed, that it also might be copied. He informed us that they were not found in Egypt, but brought in a vessel from Syria.

On determining to visit the Delta, we had written to Mohammed Ali Pacha, requesting a firmaun to the Governor of Damietta: one arrived yesterday, making him answerable, with his head, for our safety, directing him to afford us every assistance in his power, and to shew us every attention. We all went to the Hummaum in the afternoon, and were well cleansed from the dust of the Desert. Our baggage arrived at one; but we could hear no news of the boat and servants.

April 29.—I applied in the morning to the Governor, for the use of his boat to carry me to Lesbé, at the mouth of the Nile, which was immediately granted. This village was destroyed by the

French, who began to erect on its site a fort which would have been strong, but which they had not time to finish. It has a lofty brick wall, but no ditch nor glacis; within, three excellent barracks were finished; but the ruins of the ancient houses were not removed. I examined the whole of the place to see if I could discover any of the ruins mentioned by Savary, as existing in his time, and which he conceived to be the remains of the ancient Damietta, which was first besieged and taken by the Crusaders, and afterwards by St. Louis; but without the least success; not a vestige of a wall was visible, nor were there any heaps of pottery, nor any mixture of lime and brick with the soil; but where the canals were cut, the black mud of the Nile alone appeared. The mosque he mentions, could not be the one left when the Sultaun of Egypt destroyed the town, as it is of a modern date. Certainly, if Savary have faithfully translated the quotations he has given from Macrizi and Abulfeda, there can be no doubt that the ancient Damietta was destroyed, in order to prevent its being taken by the Christians, and a new town of the same name was built higher up the river; yet it is difficult to comprehend what advantage would arise from removing it only a few miles, to the site of the present town, or indeed for its removal at all, since the walls and fortifications alone were of importance, and their complete destruction would have precluded the possibility of its again becoming an asylum to a vanquished enemy.

The present town is not five miles from the mouth of the river, and I cannot but think it probable, that the ancient Damietta was at nearly the same distance; for the Crusaders found a great chain extended across the river from two towers, which were probably at some short distance from the sea, and after breaking that, found a

space beyond sufficient to encamp their whole army, and surround themselves with a ditch and pallisade, although the Sultaun had erected a bridge to prevent their approach, and was encamped between them and Damietta. Lesbé is distant only a mile from the sea, and it is impossible to suppose that within that distance the whole of the armies, the bridge and the towers, with the chain, could have been crowded. I am therefore inclined to doubt the fact, as given by the Arabian historians, and the fidelity of Mr. Savary's translation.

Below Lesbé the Governor has established a village, where he obliges all the fishermen to live, and which seems in a very thriving state. I here observed a round tower of ancient masonry, which forms one extremity of a building, that extends to the river, and to which, I think it probable, that the great chain above mentioned was fastened. Every other building between Damietta and the sea has the appearance of being modern.

The Bogaz is not quite so bad here as at Rosetta, for it admits vessels of much larger burthen than the jerms, which take advantage of the fine weather, to enter the river, and anchor close to the town, where there is never less than fourteen feet water. As we returned we were much struck with the picturesque appearance of the houses, which not only cover the banks of the river, but have generally stages extended over it, on which vines are planted, and seats are disposed under their shade.

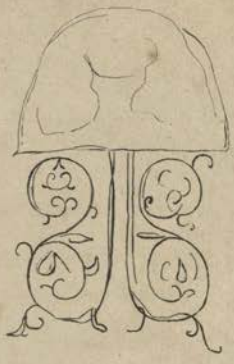
The Kiaia of the Governor called to pay his master's compliments, and excuse himself for not having been yesterday, by saying that he had fallen from his horse and hurt himself. As we knew it was only an excuse, we offered gravely the assistance of Vincenzo's

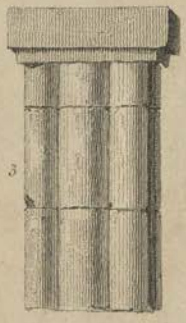
brother, who was a surgeon, which he as gravely declined. I accepted the excuse, and said I would visit his master on the morrow. We again walked in the evening to the merchant's door, where the pedestal had been removed, and copied the Greek inscription, which was as follows:

Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ
ΛΟΥΚΙΟΝ ΠΟΠΙΛΛΙΟΝ ΒΑΛΒΟΝ
ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΗΝ ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ
ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΥ
ΤΟΝ ΠΑΤΡΩΝΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΟΣ.

April 30.—In the morning I visited the Governor. He received me at the custom-house, met me near the entrance, and conducted me to a very next little apartment, which opened into a little garden, where pinks and roses were in full bloom. He gave me the seat of honour, and paid the usual compliments. General Andreossi had mentioned a column in a mosque which has a Greek inscription on it. I requested permission to enter the mosque and copy it, which he granted, and ordered one of his people to attend me. Vincenzo recognised in him an old friend, who had saved his life at Tripoli, when they were both in the service of Ali Pacha. He is a brave soldier, but haughty and uninformed. He has been here three years. Damietta, which formerly was the paradise of Egypt, where the gardens abounded with groves of oranges, and every fruit, where the finest rice was raised in the greatest profusion, is now totally changed, in consequence of the stream of the Nile having taken to the canal of Menouf, instead of passing to Damietta. The gardens have vanished, the rice fields are sown with wheat, and

the inhabitants want even fresh water. Achmed Aga has constructed a large vessel to supply in some degree this latter defect, by bringing, in vast cisterns, water from above Fareskour, between which place and Mansoura the river has still sufficient force to repel the waters of the sea, driven up the channel by the strong northerly winds, which prevail for the greater part of the year. It is singular that Citoyen Girard, in a paper read before the Institute of Egypt, mentions this as having been then remedied by the Canal of Menouf being closed by a mound; yet I came down the canal of Menouf, and the evil is now as great as ever: at Damietta the water is quite salt. This plan of Achmet Aga shews some intelligence, as does the construction of the village of fishermen so near the Bogaz, purposely, as he says, that they may be at hand in case any vessel should be in distress, or wrecked on the shore. We had coffee and sherbet. I returned the visits of the Vice Consuls, and then went, accompanied by the Chaous Bashi of the Governor, to the mosque. Mr. Salt entered alone, after the mats were removed. We gave two piastres to the attendant, and no objections were started. Many went in to pray, and saluted me as they passed; while I continued seated on the door sill. One man from Jidda murmured something, but he was soon silenced by the people. The inscription is, to me, quite unintelligible; it is certainly not entirely in Greek nor any other characters, but seems to be cabalistic. I have given a copy of it in the opposite plate. We next walked to a mosque nearly ruined, at Menshie, a suburb nearer to the sea. We found there an Arab inscription, which places its erection on the 1117th year of the Hejira. There were several very beautiful marble columns, but much injured. Near it was a marabout, the dome of





1. *Inscription on a Column at Damietta.*

2. *Copper Dovetail found at Bahbeit.*

3. *Ancient Column found at Maſsowah.*

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which was supported by four jasper columns, the polish of which was as perfect as on the day they were finished; one alone had a small piece broken out of it; a fifth column of the same materials, and in as good a state, was at the entrance. We returned about five, having passed the whole length of the town, which is about two miles.

May 1.—Major Missett having informed me he did not wish to detain the Panther any longer, I was all day employed in preparing my dispatches. Our baggage arrived, and to morrow we go to the Lake Menzalé, which was but little known till the arrival of the French in Egypt, when General Andreossi was directed by Bonaparté to make a survey of it. This was published in the first vol. of the Mémoires sur l'Egypte, with a memorial, giving a very interesting account of the lake itself, the inhabitants of its shores, and the ruins in its vicinity.

May 2.—In the morning we sent off the baggage, and soon afterwards followed ourselves on horses and mules, to the borders of the Lake Menzalé. Signor Gabriello and the Padre accompanied us. We had four vessels waiting for us; two very good and large; the other two, small fishing-boats. We embarked near the tomb of Schech Chaffa, with a very fair and stiff breeze. In half an hour we fell in with a chain of islands, which are totally omitted by General Andreossi in his otherwise excellent chart of the lake. After two hours sail we passed between two islands, through a channel not above thirty yards wide, on the north bank of which was the tomb of Schech Elsebi, which are accurately laid down in the General's chart. The wind continued fair, but the men said that it had driven the water from this to the eastern extremity of the lake,

so that it would be impossible to reach Menzalé; we therefore determined to proceed directly to the island of Schech Abdallah, on which are situated the ruins of the town of Thouna. We arrived there by five, but found not a vestige of a building. The whole of the island is covered with bricks almost reduced to powder, mixed with small bits of glass and mica. There could never have been any building of great importance here, or very great pains must have been taken to destroy it. I should rather suspect, from its situation in the middle of a lake abounding with several kinds of very good fish, that it was an extensive fishing-town. We encamped for the night close to the Schech's tomb, having sent off to Menzalé to announce our arrival, and beg to see the Schech.

May 3.—We had determined originally to visit the ruins of the island of Tennis, but having learnt that there were no remains of antiquity except heaps of powdered bricks, as at Thouna, and knowing from Sebastiani's account that the French had searched there, as they had done here, without success, we altered our intention, and ordered the baggage on board to proceed to Matarieh. In the Schech's tomb the French have carved several names, among which we observed that of Nouet.

We reached Matarieh by ten, and were received by the Schech of the Lake and of Menzalé, the son of Hassan Toubar, by name Ali. The father died in the time of the French, who, at the request of Ali, appointed his uncle Chelabi, Schech. They may be considered as equally Schechs at this moment, and are both here. This Hassan Toubar was, according to General Andreossi, whose account is confirmed by Messrs. Airuts, one of the most powerful individuals in the country, having a vast profit from the trade of

the Lake, which he farmed from the Beys, and being able to protect himself from the usual oppressions, by the natural strength of his islands, which could not be approached by an enemy, all the boats on the lake being his own, and by the friendship of the Arabs, whose chiefs he constantly bribed with liberal presents. His family were originally of Menzalé, and were said to have held the sovereignty, by their prudent management, for five generations. Our wish was to visit the ruins of Tanis, situated at Sann, on the banks of the Kaliz el Moez, where, according to the French accounts, several obelisks still remained standing. We consulted him on the subject. He informed us, that in the time of the rise of the Nile, it would be very easy for him to conduct us thither by water; but that at present it was out of his power, as the vicinity was much infested by the wandering Arabs. He said that one or two might make their way, by his sending to one of the tribes, and receiving hostages from them for the safety of the travellers; but that this would require time, and would, after all, be doubtful. The distance was said to be six hours march on horseback. As by his account, and that of General Andreossi, there was but little to be seen, we determined to give up the pursuit.

The Schech sent me six sheep, some rice, ghee, and bread, as a present. The town is but small; the houses chiefly mud, though a few are brick. The people are nearly naked, but robust, and healthy: the children are numerous, indeed, more so than I have seen in any part of Egypt. The inhabitants of the two islands amount to about eleven hundred males, besides females and children, the whole district of Menzalé is said by General Andreossi to contain eight thousand souls. At present there are six hundred boats employed in the

fishery, particularly of the mullet, whose roe is cured and exported in great abundance under the name of botargo. In the time of the Mamelukes there were three times that number. Opposite Matarieh is another town on an island of equal size, the Schech el Belled of which came to pay his compliments. On my mentioning the name of Hassan Toubar, the old Schech immediately addressed himself to Signor Gabriello, and said, "How does he know any thing of Hassan Toubar? where could he hear of him?" He also knew of Schech Abdallah, and ordered the people to go there; when did he learn this?* On its being explained to me, I told him the English knew well his brother, and all that belonged to him, which was unintentionally an odd sort of a compliment, as Hassan Toubar was very much attached to the French. The natives were uniformly civil to us; as we walked along the streets they always made their salaams. The women were veiled, but chatted freely. I observed several green turbans. We sent our baggage on board in the evening. Signor Gabriello and Padre Basilio went on board and sailed in the night.

May 4.—We were up by three, and at half after four set sail. The wind was fair till ten. We reached the shore by two, where we found the horses and asses waiting for us by the orders of Signor Gabriello. When we reached Damietta we went to the Hummaum.

May 5.—We hired two boats to take us to Mansoura. Achmed Aga, the governor, sent to express his regret that I had not applied to him for any thing I wanted, to offer his canja, and to say that he would get me as many more boats as I wished. I told his Kiaia I did not want his canja, or I should certainly have applied for it. Vincenzo gave him a hint, as from himself, that he was surprised

the governor had not paid me a visit; he said, it had been his intention, but that I had never staid long enough at Damietta. He departed, but returned again, pressing me to take the canja. I did not see him, but still declined the canja, which I suspect he attributed to my not having been visited; for soon afterwards the governor arrived: I met him at the door of the room, and handed him to a seat. He pressed me so strongly to take the canja, that I was obliged to comply. He offered letters to the Cacheefs of Mansoura and Semenoud, which I accepted.

After an early dinner we went on board. I was saluted by nine pieces from the shore, and the vessels hoisted their colours, and fired one gun each. The wind was fresh and favourable; we therefore made one of the jerms take us in tow. We passed Fareskour too early to stop there.* At sunset the wind fell, so that we made little way; we therefore stopped at Berishie, a village from which the inhabitants had chiefly fled, in consequence of some dispute with their neighbours of Fareskour. The village has a wall of mud, and gates to defend it from the wandering Arabs. A quantity of flax was on the shore, in the middle of which we pitched our tents.

May 6.—We got milk in abundance from the few villagers who remained, and set sail early. We stopped at Caffre Toura to take our breakfast, where a Schech resided, a friend of Messrs. Airuts. He was a Sheriffe, and a good looking man. The peasantry were working hard to raise water for their rice fields, as the river is here fresh. I saw some very fine cattle. The Schech presented us with bread, which was all we wanted. He spoke in melancholy terms of the

* A place rendered famous by the captivity of St. Louis, and his whole army, but which now offers nothing interesting to the traveller.

oppression under which the country laboured; that scarcely a week passed without a contribution; and that at present their means of payment were totally exhausted. We got at night to Baramoun, where the Caimakan Mohammed Aga Blefié waited on me. He was formerly a Mameluke of Osman Bey Hassan. He spoke in a still more desponding way of the situation of the country, and the extortions exercised by the Albanians and the government. He said the inhabitants had nothing left; that all their cattle had been sold; that those who then worked night and day to raise water, belonged to Basilio Tacha, to whom the crops were mortgaged. He seemed completely heart-broken at being the instrument of these extortions, and prayed most earnestly that the merciful God would send the English to restore peace and plenty.

I was pleased to find our nation thus wished for, in a part of the country where they had never been, but where their character could only have been learned from the other inhabitants of Egypt. He still begged me to mention any thing I wanted, as, in spite of their distress, he would find it for me. I declined every thing except milk and bread, articles which I ever made it a rule to pay for, and watched very closely that no extortions were practised in my name, by our numerous followers. Among these was the Chaous Bashi of the Governor of Damietta, who always wished to be taking what he chose, and to pay for nothing. He gave this day a good sample of Turkish manners. Our boat was in tow of the jerms, and the wind being very fresh, it was once or twice dashed against us; the Chaous struck the son of the Rais who was at the helm, with a stick, and not satisfied with that, drew his pistol, and was with some difficulty prevented from shooting him.

May 7.—At an early hour we set off, having secured three small boats, that, in case the river became shallow, we might take our baggage out of the jerms and put it into them. It was well we did so, for about five miles above Baramoun, the river ceased to be navigable for large vessels, and even the canja passed only by the men going into the water and pushing her along. Mansoura is very beautifully situated on rather a higher bank than usual of the Nile. It has several gardens in front of the houses, and some large sycamore trees adjacent. Its numerous mosques give it an extensive appearance. We landed about two, and pitched our tents immediately in an open garden, close to the river. The Intendant, Malum Yusuff, a Copt, immediately paid us a visit: from him we learned that the Cacheef was absent; we therefore sent the Governor of Damietta's letter to his Kiaia. The Chaous had another private one for him, mentioning the very strong orders he had himself received from Mohammed Ali, and advising him to pay me every possible attention. We went to take coffee at the Intendant's, having ordered one of the hot baths to be prepared for us. We now learned that Timai was four hours distant, and had every hope given us that we should be well recompensed there for our past disappointments. He gave me two Egyptian figures in earth. After the bath, we returned to our tents.

A very respectable old man of the name of Hassan Belgahie, who was formerly Governor of the town, and therefore still preserved the title of Surbaje, paid us a visit. We found it was his garden in which we were encamped. He asked many questions about me; who I was, and what I did here. Vincenzo told him that Mohammed Ali considered me as a very powerful man of England; but that as

for my business in Egypt, it was a secret with which he was unacquainted, but that he supposed it was of great consequence. The old man was very civil, but soon left us to say his prayers. The Kiaia of the Cacheef soon afterwards paid us a visit. The Intendant came next, so that we had a full tent. It was now in a moment settled that every thing should be ready for our departure in the morning. Vincenzo recognised, in a person who attended the Kiaia, an old acquaintance who had been formerly in the service of Ali Pacha. He was also Caimakan of a village close to the ruins of Timai, and undertook to accompany us. Indeed I found them all extremely anxious to oblige and serve me.

May 8.—Early in the morning we went to see a piece of granite, on which were cut some hieroglyphics, but they were too much worn to be of value. As we went out, we were joined by the Kiaia, who took us to see a hot bath, where the water had a yellowish tinge, but had no particular taste. On our way we were shewn the upper part of a statue of Isis, which had been brought from Timai by the French, who had embarked it on the river, but it had fallen into the water. The bust was sufficiently entire to make it interesting. We had it carried to our tent, and determined to send it by water to Damietta. Mr. Salt drew it for fear of accidents. Our friend the Surbaje sent us a breakfast of excellent cakes and bread. I learned that an express was sent off by the Kiaia to his master with the letters.

It was necessary to hire a Schech of an Arab tribe to accompany us to Timai, which was settled by the Intendant. We could procure only three camels, the rest being employed in carrying the wheat. We all procured horses, but bridles and saddles were rare. We set off about two, accompanied by the Intendant, the Caimakan, and the

owner of the village. The Schech Foud Abou Koura of Metel Hamour, accompanied us with about twenty horsemen. We halted at the first village till our camels past us. They reached another unaccompanied, when the inhabitants thought it a good opportunity to plunder, and sallied forth. We just then came in sight, when our Schech and his people set off full gallop, and obliged the rascals to take refuge in the village, all of which have walls to protect them from the wandering Arabs. Their corn was all piled on the outside, in the open air. We reached Timai about six. The village Schech paid his compliments, and they permitted us to pitch our tents close to the mosque, and the tomb of Schech Abdallah, from whom this place takes its name. We sat down, fourteen, to a cold dinner, spread on the ground; the Schech el Arab declined dining with us, but sent for a bottle of wine. All the Mussulmauns took their share of this prohibited liquor. The villages are built on sandy hillocks, though the plain is composed of the mud of the Nile. The strata of those hillocks which were open for pits were regular and horizontal; I conceive therefore that they are natural.

May 9.—Timai is the Thmuis of Ptolemy, and was situated in the Mendesian Nome, where, according to Herodotus, the god Pan was worshipped, and out of respect to him goats, particularly males, were held in great veneration, and one was more honoured than all the rest, and his death lamented by the whole Nome. Timai has been described by no traveller, and was visited for a short period only, by General Vernier, to collect the tribute from the Schechs in the vicinity. We arose early in the morning, and visited the ruins nearest to us, which are called Medinet Timai, or the Capital. We found a place where the soil had been a little thrown up, and

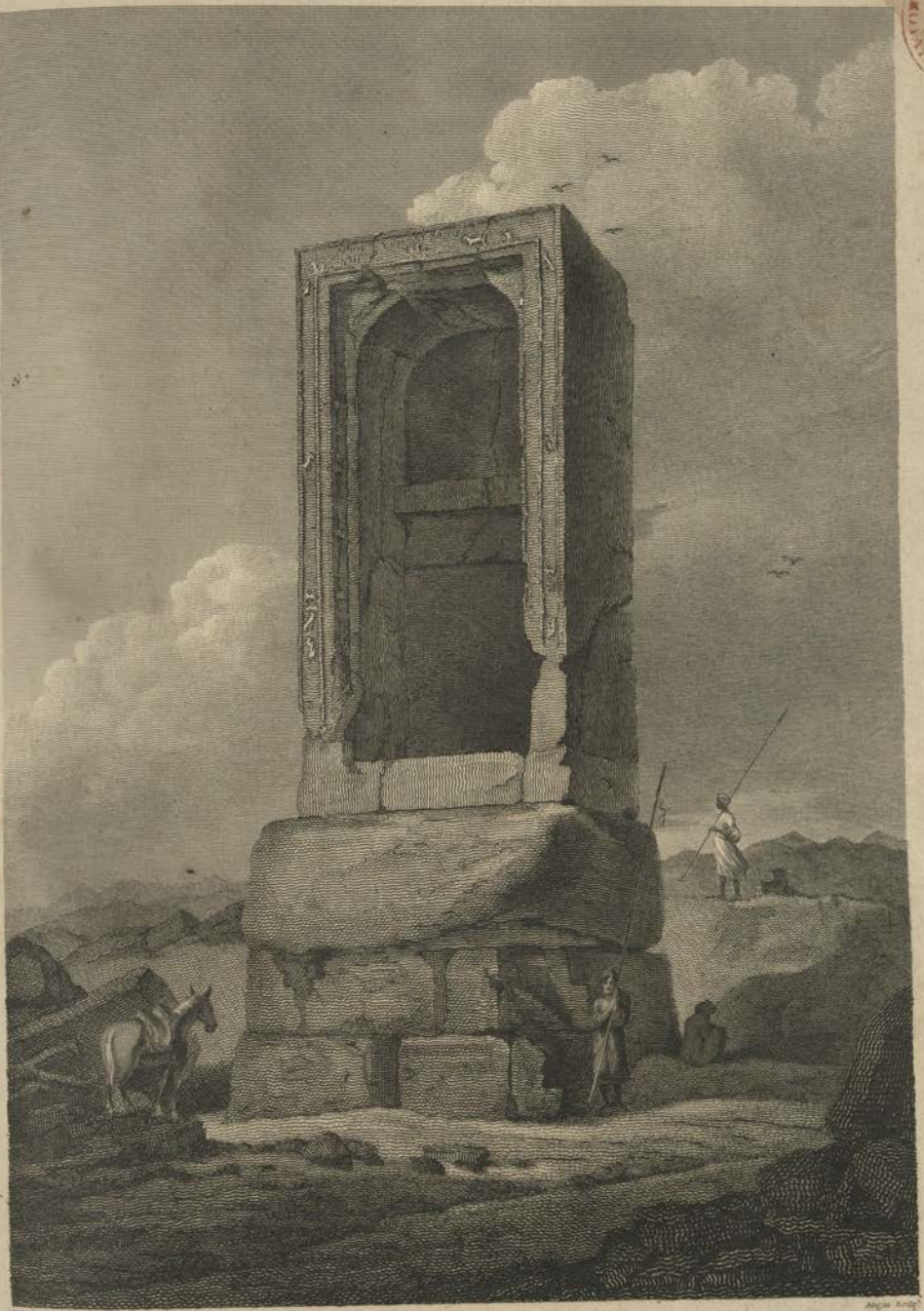
appeared of the black colour of the Ibis mummies: on examining, there actually appeared some vases which contained mummy composition and bones. We procured several of different sizes; they seemed to have contained the bodies of the sacred goats. The ruins consist chiefly of heaps of broken bricks and pottery, with here and there a broken granite column, but the whole in such confusion, that neither the walls of the town nor the foundation of a building could be distinguished.

After breakfast we visited Gussur Timai, or the Palace of Timai, as it is called by the Arabs, which is situated on a hill, at the distance of about half a mile from the other. We were here compensated for all our trouble, by the discovery of a vast shrine of polished, red, Thebaic granite, which still continues standing, and of which the accompanying engraving will give the best idea.

The shrine itself is of a single piece, of the following dimensions:

	Feet.	Inches.
Height - -	23	4
Breadth in front -	12	8
Depth on the outside	11	3
Breadth of the chamber	8	8
Depth of the chamber	9	2

It stands on a pedestal of the same substance, five feet high, and that again on two layers, that amount to six feet three inches; so that the whole elevation is thirty-four feet seven inches. The polish on many parts continues perfect, but in others has been injured by time, or external injury. A large crack runs down it behind, and there is another on each side, which resembles much the effect of lightning. The front has been ornamented with hieroglyphics,



SHRINE AT TIMAI.

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chiefly at the top, but on the sides more scantily. The smooth surface reflected so strongly the rays of the sun, and the heat was so great from the surrounding banks keeping off the air, that it was impossible to draw the ornaments with accuracy. The top is not flat, but elevated to a point in the centre, as we found when we viewed it from a distance. It is hardly to be doubted, that a statue of a deity was originally placed in the cavity; I should suppose of Pan, for the height seems too great for the ram only. The shrine was placed facing the N. E. in the centre of one side of an irregular square, forty-three paces wide by thirty-six; at present marked only by very high mounds of earth, and some remains of a wall; it had apparently a shrine of a similar construction on each side of it. On a block of Thebaic granite, which had formed a part of one of these, was a figure of a ram with four horns; two which were visible were long and twisted, diverging horizontally from the top of the forehead: a third was shorter, a little curved, perfectly smooth, and lying close to the face; the fourth was concealed.

There were no other ruins within this square; but in a second, at the northern corner, were several very large blocks of granite, and the same in a third. The second and third square were both forty-three feet wide; but the former was seventy eight, and the latter forty paces long. At a small distance in front of these, and near to the canal, were three hillocks in a line, on which were probably some buildings, but at present not a vestige of them remains.

In walking without the squares, we discovered at least twenty troughs of granite, roughly excavated, chiefly of an oval form, and which, from their being under five feet long, could not be intended for sarcophagi. Not a fragment of a column could be found about

the place; but we were shewn a piece of a statue about three feet wide across the breast, but so damaged, that it was impossible to conjecture for what it was originally intended.

A Kamsin, or hot wind, set in, and drove us to our tents, but in the evening we ventured out, and at one extremity of Medinet Timai discovered the ruins of a temple, the columns of which had been thrown down and broken; they were of granite, together with their capitals and bases. A little boy carried us to a spot, where we saw the lower part of a statue in basalt, of very fine workmanship; this I bought from him for a dollar, and hired an ass from the Schech of the town to carry it to Mansoura. Whoever discovers an antique, has a right to dispose of it; they say it is God's property, and he gives it to whom he pleases.

The Arabs brought me a few antiques, which were generally of little value, but which I bought for a few paras. The Schech gave me a little figure in lapis lazuli, of a ram with four heads, but it had not the long, horizontal horns. The night was cool and pleasant.

May 10.—I wished to have dedicated this day to an examination of the ruins; but the Schech urged us to continue no longer in the country, as, from the present disturbed state of Cairo, the Bedowee were become more bold, and might, possibly, think it worth their while to collect a large party, and attack us. His arguments were conclusive, and we therefore gave orders for our departure; but in the mean time took a ride to Gussur Timai, whence we were soon driven by millions of sand flies, which attacked us without mercy.

I think that tradition has judiciously appropriated the two Timai's,

for one has all the appearance of having been the residence of the priests and chief only, and the other of the common people. The Arabs have made many researches among the ruins of both, and have, at different times, found some valuable articles, which they sold for an insignificant price at Mansoura, whence they made their way to Damietta and Cairo, where the Europeans were always willing to purchase them. In the vicinity of the present Timai, a deserted village at some distance from the ruins, a pit was by accident broken into, in which were two hundred figures of Isis, from four to nine inches long, of a baked earth, coloured blue, and varnished a little on the outside, with hieroglyphics on the lower part. One alone was a foot long, which I purchased for about a shilling.

On our way back we made a bend to the south, to visit a village, near which are the remains of an ancient temple and town. The large blocks of granite that lie prostrate on the ground are uniformly broken. I cannot but suspect that the conquerors of this country found treasure concealed in some of the stones of the ancient edifices, and that the expectation of finding more, led to the laborious destruction of these massive temples, which seem to have been constructed to bid defiance to time itself. I observed a few blocks of a very singular shape, having the external form of a bell, but no cavity within, and being five or six feet in diameter at the base. They could not have formed a part of any building, nor can I conceive any use to which they could be put. I think Timai is ten miles from Mansoura, in a due east direction.

The Schech would make no charge for his men; I therefore gave him a double-barrelled gun for himself, and one thousand paras for his relation, who was next in command.

We reached Mansoura by two, and again took up our residence in the Surbaje's garden. After having indulged ourselves at the Hummaum, which the Kiaia had ordered to be cleared of all other visitors for our accommodation, we walked to the canal that runs to the east of the town, beyond which, on the plain, St. Louis and his army were encamped, till driven, by famine and disease, to attempt their retreat to Damietta. Nobody can doubt the courage nor religious zeal of St. Louis; but it is impossible to allow him those necessary qualifications for a General—prudence and judgment. The misfortunes of the first Crusaders ought to have warned him not to attempt to penetrate into Egypt during the inundation of the Nile, when every canal became a defensible post. Later invaders have wisely chosen to remove the attack to Alexandria, where the natural strength of the position, and the excellent harbour, offer every advantage for repressing the attacks of the inhabitants, and receiving supplies from the sea.

In the evening we received an express from Major Missett, informing us that a vessel of one thousand tons burthen had arrived from Malta, and meant to return thither shortly, and suggesting the eligibility of my taking my passage in her, as it was doubtful whether Sir Alexander Ball might have an armed vessel disengaged, to send for me. We therefore determined to hasten our journey, and visit such places only in the Delta as lay directly in our way. By the paper sent us, we heard of Sir John Duckworth's victory, and of the capture of the Cape, for which good news we fired three small guns; on which the Kiaia sent to congratulate us, and ordered a salute of seven to be fired from the town.

We took leave of our worthy friend the Padre Basilio, who re-

turned to Damietta, having in charge the antiquities I had procured during our tour. Messrs. Airuts still accompanied us. We were up early, but it was two hours before the asses arrived which we had hired for the party, and which were to go with us into the Delta, lest we should not be able to procure any there. Our baggage and servants went in four boats. We breakfasted at Goraka, on the banks of the river, near which are some heaps of rubbish, that seem to indicate the site of an ancient town, but no granite was visible among them. The Schech waited on us, and was very civil, providing us with all we required, which was bread and milk. He amused me much by asking Vincenzo if I were the Sultaun who had landed at Suez, and on whose arrival at Cairo they had fired one hundred and sixty pieces of cannon. It was clear that a story did not lose more in Egypt by travelling than in other countries.

We here quitted the river to visit the ruins of Bahbeit, or the beautiful house, which D'Anville has considered, and I think with justice, as the Isidis Oppidum of Pliny. It is difficult to conjecture how, without the assistance of gunpowder, the vast masses of granite of which the ruins consist, could have been thrown into the form in which they now meet the eye of the astonished traveller. Blocks, ten feet long and five feet broad and wide, are piled on each other, in such a way as frequently to leave openings sufficiently large for a person to pass underneath, and view the beautiful sculpture with which one face of each is covered. The Arabs have removed the sand in the centre, by which means it is apparent that there is as much of the building underground, as there is above; and in several places the massive foundation still remains. Without any very great expense, the ground plan might be ascertained,

by employing the Arabs to clear away the rubbish; but this can never be executed in safety while Egypt is under its present savage masters. Three different kinds of granite have been used in this beautiful temple: the first is a very fine grained red, mixed with black and a little white; the second is black, and of an inferior quality; the third is the common Thebaic red, with much white and a little black. On each of these the subject is different, and the style of carving dissimilar.

On the first are representations of the goddess Isis, seated, and a person offering gifts to her, with a border of written hieroglyphics about a foot broad, inclosing each pair of figures in a compartment. The head-dress of Isis is not exactly the same in any two places, nor are the offerings similar, nor made by the same persons. Below these, but separated from them by a line of five pointed stars touching each other, is a range of smaller figures, bearing tables with three legs, on which are placed three vases and other ornaments. I could find no remains of the door way, except the vast block which covered it, and which had on it the globe, with the two serpents and the wings, as usually found in the temples of Upper Egypt. Nothing could be more admirably executed than the basso relievo of this part of the temple, which probably formed the front, or the wings; the polish remained perfect on the faces: the designs were good, but the figures were invariably ill drawn.

On the second, or black granite, which I conjecture to have covered the outer walls, are a number of figures, some seated, but the greater part standing, with their hands extended, among which we found one with the hawk's head, having in his hand the cross, with a circular handle, which has given rise among the learned to

so many fanciful conjectures. These are of inferior execution to the first, and instead of being raised, are sunk into the granite, and have only a little relief, but not so much as to bring the figure to the level of the surface in which they are cut.

The third kind has certainly been employed for the body of the temple itself, the roof is also composed of it, and is covered with the five pointed stars. The pillars, of which we could only discover the remains of three, are likewise of the same material: the capitals are formed of four gigantic heads of Isis, and the shafts are covered with hieroglyphics. The blocks of this granite, except those intended for the roof, are smaller than the others, and are only ornamented with hieroglyphics cut into them without any relief. Several of these are very singular, but the goose with the globe, and the serpent with the cap on his head, are the most frequent. At one extremity of the ruin is a great lion of the same granite, but so buried in the earth that we could not judge of its execution.

Pococke visited these splendid ruins, and speaks of them with a just degree of admiration. Savary, as usual, runs into a strain of panegyric, which is absurd. The features in the basso relievos are certainly beautiful, but the figures are out of all proportion, and display a total ignorance of anatomy. Since their times the devastations of the natives have continued, and many a valuable record of the ancient splendor of the Delta has been destroyed to form a millstone, or the sill of a door. The French also removed a few, but there are still remaining a sufficient quantity to gratify the curiosity of a traveller. I hope and trust that the day will arrive, when some of the most perfect will be conveyed to a country

where they will be free from injury, and their merit be justly appreciated.

As it was impossible for Mr. Salt to finish drawing, during the evening, all the remains that were visible, he and Captain Vincenzo staid behind while we proceeded to Semenoud, where we were very civilly received by the Schech, who came to make the excuses of the Cacheef, for his not being able to wait upon us, in consequence of severe indisposition.

May 13.—It was very sultry in the morning, till the air was cooled by a violent thunder storm. Mr. Briggs and I went, as usual, to the Hummaum, which we invariably found refreshed and cooled us, and took off the sensation of soreness, which exercise in such a climate is apt to produce. The inhabitants were extremely civil; the better order complained heavily of the oppressions under which they laboured, and declared that the French did not use them half so ill. The poorer people brought me a few trifling antiques to purchase, and among others a small brass statue of Isis, as she is represented at Bahbeit, with large horns, and the moon placed between them; composing altogether a head dress which a mortal would be unable to sustain. Captain Vincenzo and Mr. Salt returned to dinner, having finished the drawings, and purchased for me a dove-tail of metal, evidently intended to fasten two stones together. My friend, Mr. Davy, informs me that it is pure copper. On account of its singularity I have given a drawing of it, with the hieroglyphics that are still visible.

We were informed in the evening, that Mohammed Ali had ordered a fresh contribution of grain to be levied on the Delta, in consequence of the alarm excited by the appearance of Elfi and his

troops in the vicinity of Menouf. His Highness seemed to suspect that it was the intention of his antagonist to occupy the Delta, and attempt to starve Cairo, and therefore wished to guard against it, by accumulating stores beforehand. We had an intimation of Elfi's plan before we left Alexandria, in consequence of which I wrote to him, and requested he would send me a passport. By the return of the messenger he sent me a very civil answer, conjuring me, on my return to Europe, to make known to my government the wretched situation of Egypt. He inclosed the passport, or rather letter, which was as follows:

"To all my dear and beloved children the Beys, to my children the Cacheefs, to all my Mamelukes, to all my Albanians and Turkish soldiers, to all the Schechs of the Arabs, and to all the Arab tribes. Health to you all! I notify to you, that our beloved and respected friend Lord Valenzia, a chief of the English court, is going from Alexandria to Damietta. I will that none of you offer him any impediment, but that you let him pass with all his party, rendering to him all the honours which are due to his rank. Remember, he is a chief of the English court, our best and most dear friend, which is the reason of my issuing this order. Whoever disobeys it shall receive the merited punishment.

"Dated the 10th of the month Suffar, in the year of Hejira 1221."

From the disposition shewn in this order, to make use of me as an evidence to the Arabs of Elfi's friendly connection with England, I should have been by no means sorry to have met this Chief, as I should have been perfectly sure of a civil reception, and should have enjoyed the novelty of a Mameluke camp.

May 14.—We were up by day break, but our camels and servants

were not ready to march till it became so hot, as to render our march to Mahallet-el-Kebeer very unpleasant. In the time of the Beys, one of their body resided in this place, which is the capital of the Garbie, or lower division of the Delta. It is a large town, containing some good houses, and is surrounded by extensive gardens; but like every other place we had visited, is going rapidly to decay. Mohammed Ali gave the district to his eldest son, whose deputy, the acting Governor, was formerly a Mameluke. I had sent on my interpreter to notify to him my approach, and to request he would have camels and asses ready for me to continue my journey: at first he seemed to care little about the business, but on being spoken to in stronger terms, became very civil, sent a man to point out a pleasant spot in the gardens for our encampment, and immediately on our arrival, came to pay his compliments in person. Vincenzo recognised in him an old acquaintance, and we were the best of friends in a few minutes.

We were greatly disturbed at learning that the camels of this place had all been sent to the army with grain, and we were therefore obliged, however unwillingly, to compel the servant of the Cacheef of Semenoud, to drive on those belonging to his master. We purchased six asses, and procured the rest that were necessary. The Governor not only sent us bread and sheep, but ordered one of his Mamelukes, and a Chaous, to attend us across the Delta, and provide for us during the journey.

The heat was great, but we wished to go on to a village at the distance of three hours march, where we had an order from our friend the Governor to procure the camels we wanted; but when every thing was ready, the men employed to load our camels were

missing, having been taken away by the servant of the Cacheef of Semenoud. We were obliged to employ others in their stead, who were so awkward, that it was six when we began our march, and then we were forced to stop several times before we were out of town, from the baggage falling off. The night was dark, and the road so bad from the large fissures in the ground, that we determined to stop at the first village; but took the precaution of sending the baggage-camels in advance, that we might not be taken for a party of plundering Arabs, and be fired upon. We at length reached a miserable assemblage of mud huts, the backs of which were outwards, and formed a kind of wall. The harvest was lying around, among the heaps of which we pitched our tents.

May 15.—Early in the morning the Schech brought us hot bread, with sweet and sour milk, and humbly requested to know if I insisted on his paying one thousand paras also, which he said my interpreter had demanded. I assured him that nothing could be more contrary to my orders than such a demand; that I was rejoiced he had applied to me, and that I would punish the servant who made it, by dismissing him from my service; which I did. When a great man formerly travelled in Egypt, it was always the custom of the country for the Schechs to present money to his people. When the British were here, the dragomans of the army attempted to continue the practice, as they had done to an enormous extent under the French; but it was instantly checked by severely flogging them at the head of the corps. My interpreter thought he might be guilty of a similar imposition, though I positively prohibited it, but I fear he had previously succeeded in other places. In three hours we reached the village, where we had orders for the camels

and asses. As there was not a tree near it, we went into a room built over the gateway. Here, as the wind was very fresh, we were nearly smothered with dust. The Schech had been wounded by some Osmanlis for their amusement; he could not therefore wait on us, but his brother did, and gave us the camels and asses, with which our people immediately set out for Calim. This village had been attacked a few nights before, by the inhabitants of another, in hopes of carrying off their sheep and cattle; but they had been repulsed, with the loss of two killed and one taken prisoner, who had been sent to Mahallet-el-Kebeer. Soon after three we were on our way, and by seven reached Calim, and encamped under some trees, where the air was cool, and pleasanter than in the town. We were received very civilly by the Schech, a respectable man, whose father had been a Mameluke, and had married the daughter of the former Schech. Formerly the town must have been handsome, but now it is greatly decayed. We had passed a village, which our guides said had been a French village. This town, the Schech informed me, had formerly a fortification, which had been built before the Mussulmauns came into the country, but of which there was not now a vestige. The country we had passed through is very rich, but a great part of it lies waste. Wheat formed the chief crop; many fields were sown with clover or hemp, and in some places the people were watering the ground for rice. We saw only one field of oats, and a few plantations of cotton; cucumbers, water melons, and gourds, are raised near every village. The people seemed extremely industrious, in defiance of the oppressions under which they laboured.

May 16.—We took coffee and cakes with the Schech, under the gateway of his house. He told us his brother had been shot by some

Osmanlis at the gates of Cairo, as he was riding out, without his having ever spoken to them, merely to shew their skill. He complained of the total ruin that was falling on the country, and asked me why the English did not come and liberate it? A question I could not answer. He would not give us camels on to Foua, but changed our asses, which were bad. One of our camels, after being loaded, was seized with the cramp, and could not move. We again applied to the Schech el Belled, who still objected; we therefore gave orders to take one that was employed in the harvest. We marched three hours to a village, where we waited for the baggage, which came up in an hour and a half. We breakfasted on milk and some bad bread, which were brought us by the Schech, who was a Sheriffe. At one we were again on our way, as the heat of the sun was tempered by a fine breeze. We rested for an hour under the shade of a tree, to give our asses some clover and water, and reached Foua in the evening, after having marched seven hours in the heat of the day. The country was similar to that we had passed yesterday, but more rice was grown, in consequence of the vicinity of the Nile. We encamped on the banks, under the shade of a sycamore. I sent to the Commandant to notify my arrival, who immediately called on me. He was also Schech el Belled, the proprietor of several villages near, and an old friend of Vincenzo's. He offered every assistance in procuring a jerm for our baggage, and his own canja for ourselves, which were accepted.

May 17.—We went at eight to the Hummaum, which was the worst we had met with, and then waited on the Commandant, who took us to his garden, on an island which is well planted, but from which, he said, the soldiers had taken every thing. He had no

soldiers he could depend on, being himself an object of plunder for the Albanians, who continually came hither from the army, which was at no great distance, under Taher Pacha, and was supplied hence with provisions; and he owned he could not receive us in his house, from the confusion that reigned. After an excellent meat breakfast, and coffee, we departed. Some of the party went into the town to view the ovens in which chickens are hatched, but the heat was so great, that Mr. Salt and I returned to the tents in the Commandant's canja. On the way we saw a jerm just arrived from Cairo. I called to know who was in her, when Dr. Raffaelli and his son appeared, and were rejoiced to see me, as they had fallen into the hands of a rascally Rais, who had taken on board twenty-eight pilgrims from Mecca, after the Doctor had paid for the whole vessel, and had been already delayed six days on the way. I immediately returned to the Commandant with my friends, and told the Rais to attend to make his defence. He was clearly to blame, and was told that, had he not been a person belonging to the Custom-house, he would have been flogged; that as it was, he must immediately go down to the place where my boats lay, and sail in the morning with me. I then returned to the tents with my friends, and soon afterwards the jerm arrived.

While I was writing my journal, a little dancing girl about nine years old, with two men to play on the usual instruments, came to the tent door. The child danced for some time, and several of the soldiers sat on a bank facing the large opening left for air. I conversed familiarly with them through my servants, and, as the weather was hot, gave several of them oranges. Soon after, a difference arose between my people, and some of those who crowded round the tent, whom they wished to drive away. I blamed my

people, and told the men they were heartily welcome to stay. One soldier, however, who was drunk, became very riotous, and declared that Christians had no business to have a girl in their tents dancing, and that he would take her out by force. Many of his companions opposed him, and strongly took our part, but he tried, in defiance of them, to force his way into the tent and draw his pistols, but was prevented. Two Albanians, in particular, took up our cause, and at length the fellow, baffled in his object, went in a rage towards the town. I sent also to the Governor to state our situation, and request his presence to send off these people, and in the mean time gave a turban to the man who behaved best, to secure him in our interest. He now conjured me to send the child away, as he said her life would not be safe if the soldiers got her, as she would be punished for being the cause of the dispute. I suspected that he wanted to give her to his companions in the boat, and told him so. He assured me I was mistaken; and said, if I would let her go, he himself would be answerable for her safety, as he would fire at the first man who attempted to follow her. I did as he desired, and she got off into the country without being seen by any of the boat people.

Soon afterwards, my head Frosh returned from the Governor to say he would send his people. I saw some soldiers coming, and thought they had been his, till they were close, when I too late discovered the rascal who had run away. They rushed towards the tent, and not seeing the child there, seized the Frosh, and said he must go to the Governor. They began instantly to beat him, and cut at him with their sabres, without accusing him of any thing, or listening to a word we could say. The confusion became

general; several took our parts, but we were without arms, and unprepared. We seized our sabres and pistols, but as no person appeared from the Governor, and we knew not what number of drunken Albanians might come down against us, we thought it best to proceed to the town. A shot was fired after my servant, who was the last, and another at the Captain's servant, who was in a soldiers dress: fortunately neither took effect. We found the Governor seated at his door. He begged us to wait till the people returned. I told him, that after what had passed, I knew not if I were in safety, even near him. He declared to God I was, and begged me to wait. The fellows now approached with our poor wounded Frosh, and some shots were fired in the streets. We knew the Governor's want of power, and told him we would retire into his house, where we could not be shot unawares, and could, for some time, defend ourselves; which we did. The soldier had the impudence to deny having fired at any one, and said they took the Arab for one of the people who had offended us, and meant to oblige us by punishing him. This lie it was useless to refute. The Governor had no power, and we were at the mercy of a drunken banditti, any one of whom might with his pistol put an end to any of us with impunity. The fact was, that the men were enraged with our poor Frosh from his having been our messenger to the Governor, where they had been, and had told him that a girl was in the Christian's tent, and that if he did not instantly send to take her out, they would do it without him. He told them to take care what they were about, as we were people of great consequence, and it would be a very serious business, but that he would send for her. They however set off instantly. Fortunately the girl was gone, or

she would have perished before we had time to arm in her defence, which we should certainly have done for our Frosh, had we not been so completely deceived by supposing them to be the Governor's people. When, in the dispute, Vincenzo told them that we were friends of Mohammed Ali and Taher Pacha, one of them answered, "I despise the beards of both of them;" literally, "I am on the beards, what care I for them? I will be master here."

Our first care on reaching the house was to examine the wounds of our poor servant, which were not dangerous, his turban having protected his head from the blows of their sabres. The Governor soon joined us, and earnesly requested that we would go to a small house without the town, whither he would follow us as soon as possible. We immediately complied, and he soon followed us. He was evidently alarmed, and anxious to get us away, saying that he would conduct us himself to our tents by a circuitous rout, without going through the town, and that it would be advisable for us to embark in his boat, and proceed to Rosetta in the night. We thought it our duty to comply with every wish of his, in order that, in the discussion that was likely to follow, nothing might be attributed to our proceedings. On arriving there we found that nothing had been stolen. The two soldiers who had joined the Hadje in the attack on the Frosh, were in the boat with him, which had not sailed. We however were now prepared. We took our arms and little cannon, sent our baggage, and that of Mr. Raffaelli, in the jerm, and went ourselves in the canja. We embarked by six, and the Governor went with us to a village of his a few miles lower down. The pilgrim's jerm set off before us, but as the wind was contrary, we soon passed her, and received no insult, which indeed we were

now well prepared to resent. We rowed all night, and at four in the morning reached Rosetta.

May 18.—As soon as I arrived, I communicated the transactions at Foua to Mr. Petrucci, and through him to the Governor, whom I called upon to secure the delinquents on the arrival of the boat, that they might be sent to the Pacha to answer for their conduct. The Governor promised that this should be done, and soon afterwards sent to say that the chief criminal had quitted the jerm above the town, but that the other two were well known, and should abide his Highness's pleasure. The poor Frosh was his own servant; I had therefore no reason to doubt his wish to punish the people who had so wantonly injured him.

After having passed through the Delta; after having examined its whole line of sea coast, and viewed both the great mouths of the Nile, I confess that I cannot discover a single argument in favour of the idea, that this fertile district has been formed by the mud of the river. For if, in ancient times, this had actually been the case, how happens it that, in these days, the same cause does not produce the same effect? Yet it is evident that the volume of water brought down is as great as ever, by its covering the whole plain of Egypt; and many of the ancient canals being closed, the quantity discharged into the sea at Rosetta and Damietta is still greater than formerly. Instead, however, of the land continuing to extend to the northward, and a mound of black loam being deposited at the mouths of the river, the bar, which at all times renders the entrance shallow, and which after a gale from the north becomes so considerable as to be impassible till the stream has formed a new passage, consists of an arid sand alone, uncovered by any more fertile deposition.

It cannot be argued that, in early times, the sea shore may have been sand though higher up, and that it has been covered by the mud of the Nile; for throughout the Delta the same rich soil is discoverable in the deepest pits, without any strata of sand between, while the whole sea coast is now like other flat coasts, unoccupied by rocks, a sand so mixed with marine salt, as scarcely to produce any vegetation.

The present sea shore of the Delta has, to me, so little the appearance of having been formed since the deluge, that I must have better authority than Mr. Savary, or the traditions of the Egyptian priests, for believing that it was so. The former is a wild romancer, whose descriptions I have already been obliged to controvert at Damietta, and to whom I can give no additional credit, when he asserts, that the narrow strip of land below Lesbé has been the gift of the Nile since the days of St. Louis; an assertion completely disproved, by its being of the same arid sand as the rest of the sea coast, and not of the rich soil of the Delta; and it is only necessary to look at the map of Egypt to be convinced, that unless the Lake Menzalé had been united to the sea, it is impossible but that the land must then have extended as far as it now does, for it is scarcely of a sufficient width to keep their waters asunder. To the traditions of the Egyptian priests, I am inclined to give as little credit. They were celebrated for their anxiety to exalt their country, by giving it a remote antiquity; and what fable could be better adapted for the purpose than this? Slow and imperceptible as was the increase of the land at that time, how many ages must have confessedly passed away, before eighty miles of sea could have been filled up by the depositions of the river!

May 19.—The wind was so strong from the north, as to prevent our sailing for Alexandria, but we went down, in the evening, to a country house which belonged to Mr. Petrucci, and is opposite Fort St. Julien. Gardens in Egypt are by no means beautiful objects, although Savary is in raptures with them. The trees, as in India, are necessarily watered by little canals cut to them; the grass is not allowed to grow at their roots, and the trees are planted in regular rows, and as close together as possible. Mr. Petrucci has endeavoured to cultivate potatoes, but without success; with artichokes, and many other European vegetables, he has been more fortunate. I was much pleased to find that the Musa, and several other plants from Abyssinia, of which I had sown the seeds, were already above the ground. Egypt would undoubtedly bring to perfection most of the Indian fruits, if the seed could be procured fresh; but the captains of the vessels which come to Suez from Bombay, are not likely to bring with them so unprofitable an article. I suggested to Mr. Petrucci the writing to India on the subject, and having them sent to Mocha, whence they might come in his own vessels. I also recommended to him to procure the different grapes of Yemen.

May 20.—The wind was still northerly, so that it was five before we reached the Bogaz, though we sailed at three. The sea was smooth, and towards mid-day the wind lulled. We arrived at Alexandria in good time, and were met on the beach by Major Missett and his suite, with the Chaous of Emim Aga.

CHAPTER XII.

Observations on Alexandria, and the Ruins now remaining.—The Site of the Palace of the Ptolemies.—Conjectures respecting the Serapeum.—Dioclesian's Pillar.—Strictures on Sebastiani's Account of his Visit to Egypt.—Observations on the State of the Country.—Departure from Alexandria.—Description of the Bay of Finica in Caramania. — Arrival at Malta. — Quarantine. — Government. — Departure for Gibraltar.—Transactions there.—Voyage to England.—Arrival at Spithead.

CHAPTER XII.

MAY 30.—OUR first business, on our arrival, was to visit the vessel that had arrived from Malta, which we found to be sufficiently large to accommodate our party, and stow my baggage, after having received all the articles she could procure at Alexandria; I therefore immediately agreed with the Captain for my passage, and prepared for departure.

On the 23d, at the request of Emim Aga, I accompanied him in his barge on board the Turkish frigate, which he commanded as Commodore. His boatmen were very well dressed, and as we rowed by her in the Old Harbour, each merchantman hoisted her colours, and saluted with three guns. The frigate, on our appearing on deck, fired thirteen guns by the order of Emim Aga, who shewed us over the whole ship, which was old and ill constructed, so much so, indeed, that there was a difference of six inches in her height between decks, on one side and the other. The same military compliments were paid on our visiting a corvette, which was kept in excellent order, having her brass guns highly polished, and her decks as clean as a room in a house. We were here presented with oranges, and some very fine apples from Rhodes, by the Captain, who was a Greek. I requested the Governor to go on board our vessel, the Queen, which he did, and was received with the same military honours that he had paid to me.

The just complaint made by Professor White, at the conclusion of his Ægyptiaca, of the want of evidence respecting the real situation of the ruins which surround the pillar, which has been usually called Pompey's, and the reproach which he has cast on the Institute of Egypt, for having so ill employed their leisure, and having added so little to our knowledge of that country; determined me to avoid a like censure, by using my utmost exertions to elucidate the geography of this ancient capital of the Ptolemies. Mr. Salt immediately commenced a survey, the result of which is given to the public in the accompanying map, which not only shews the present situation of the city, but, I trust, will enable us to ascertain the position of most of the great edifices mentioned by the ancient geographers.

The re-formation of the Lake Mareotis, by the English, has thrown great light on the extent of the city on the southern side, as it was known from the account of Strabo, that it was bounded by it, and had a port on it, which was even richer and more frequented than that toward the sea. The chain of hillocks, which is covered by the French lines, limits the extent of the ancient city towards the east. The sea still marks the northern boundary, except where the accumulation of sand on the Heptastadium has formed an isthmus instead of a causeway; but the division between the town and the Necropolis, towards the west, it is now hardly possible to discover, though I am inclined to place it near to the spot where the Calish enters the sea. Strabo states that the length of the city was thirty stadia, and the breadth about seven or eight, giving a circumference of eighty stadia, or eight miles, which very well agrees with the plan of the ruins, supposing the tower at the

extremity of the Calish to have been the boundary of the city on the shore of the Old Harbour, or the Eunostus. The assertion of Pliny, that it is fifteen miles round, is totally impossible within the bounds of the sea and lake; but the form which he has described, as having been given to it by Dinochares, is probably more correct, though some latitude must be allowed to the expression of its resembling a Macedonian mantle. It probably ran nearly in a straight line along the sea shore, from the spot in the Eunostus where the Calish enters, to the French lines, where the angular extremities might be supposed to end. The regularity of this line would be alone interrupted by the projection of the little Pharos, for the isthmus on which the new town stands, was not then in existence. The curve at the corners, which Pliny mentions, is more difficult to ascertain, as Strabo mentions that the length towards the lake was thirty stadia, or the same as that towards the sea, while the sides were seven or eight. It can at any rate have been but small, and probably included the Serapeum; and after running along in the direction of the Calish, turned up rapidly towards the sea, leaving on the outside, the S. E. heaps of ruins, which were covered with fortifications by the French.

The city is described by Strabo as having been laid out in regular streets, passable for horses and carriages, two of which were particularly large, and crossed each other at right angles. Of the actual position of one of these, which extended from the gate of Canopus to the port Eunostus, there can be no doubt, for the vacant space still remains, and is easily to be traced in the map, from the letter F to G; and it appears probable, that the street which crossed it extended from C to H. When, under the Mussulmaun government,

Alexandria had gradually fallen from its former splendor, and one half of the city had ceased to be inhabited, it was thought adviseable to lessen its extent. The old walls were destroyed, and the new ones were erected within. On this occasion, it is but reasonable to suppose, that as the streets continued in the same line, the new gates would be placed where they ran, unaltered except by a curtailment of their length, and if so, it is only from C to H, that the street we are enquiring for could have been; for at B alone, within the whole extent of the southern wall, is there any gate; and another exists in a direct line with it at C, which probably opened on the Heptastadium.

The following is the account which Strabo has left us of the Palace.* "At the entrance of the great harbour is an island, and on it the Pharos; on the other side are rocks, and the promontory of Lochias; on this is a royal palace. To those entering, on the left are other royal buildings, communicating with that on the promontory before mentioned, having various banquetting rooms and gardens. Contiguous to these is a private and inclosed port, accessible to the sovereign only. There is also the island Antirrhodus, near the artificial port, having a royal palace and a harbour. It has its name from a supposed resemblance to the island of Rhodes." He also adds in another place, "that the public buildings, which are very splendid, and the royal palaces, occupy a fourth, or even a third part of the city. Every succeeding prince was desirous of making some ornamental addition to the religious edifices, as well as to improve and adorn his own particular residence, as the poet says,

Some from one and some from another.

* Book xvii, p. 1127. Oxford, 1807.

All these structures communicated with one another, as well as with the harbour and with the buildings beyond the harbour. One part of the royal edifices is the Museum, which has a walk, benches, and a spacious apartment, in which those persons who study there, take their repasts. Another part of the royal edifices is that called "Soma," which is inclosed, and contains the tombs of the kings and of Alexander."

The ruins, at present remaining, along the shore of the greater, or, as it is now called, the new harbour, are sufficient to prove the accuracy of this description of Strabo. The land which gradually rises from Cleopatra's Needles to the spot, marked by the letter D, may be considered as the promontory of Lochias, on which the first royal palace was naturally built, as it was by far the most conspicuous and elevated station within the walls. Hence to the level ground at No. 1, the whole surface is covered with masses of brick mixed with small pieces of differently coloured marbles, porphyrys and jaspers cut into figures, which evidently shew that they were formerly used in the rich mosaics of the royal apartments.

The slight projection of No. 4, probably marks the spot opposite to which the small island of Antirrhodus formerly existed, as there can be little doubt, from the shape of the ruins at No. 5, that there was the private port appropriated to the use of the sovereign alone. The recesses for the reception of the galleys are still sufficiently distinguishable. The ruin No. 4 is the most considerable on the shore of the harbour; it extends above one hundred feet into the sea, and beneath the water the foundations are visible still farther. The lower story was built on arches of stone, but the second story, of which a part remains, was of brick. Pipes of burnt clay are

inclosed in beds of a mortar, harder than the bricks, which lead to a supposition that the royal baths were here constructed; nor would it be easy to account in any other way for the smallness of many of the rooms, the dimensions of which can still be ascertained. No. 7 marks the foundation of a round tower, and No. 16 and 18 of two small square buildings, whose use it is impossible to conjecture. Beyond the Pharos, are very extensive ruins of buildings, to which, probably, Strabo alludes as being beyond the harbour, although they were connected with the palace.

From the account above quoted, it is evident that the palace, with its numerous additions, and public buildings, must have covered a very large space of ground; and I am inclined to believe, that it was only bounded on the south by the great street, and on the east by another, which I conceive to have extended from D to E on the west. I should hardly suppose it descended the high land connected with the promontory of Lochias. Strabo, who goes on gradually along the shore of the harbour, says, after having spoken of the palace of Antirrhodus, "Beyond this is a theatre, then the Posidium running out in a kind of elbow, from what is called the Emporium. Here is a temple of Neptune. Here also are seen the Cæsarium, the Emporium, and the Apostases." The theatre may be considered as within the royal quarter, as may also the Posidium, which took its name from the Temple of Neptune, and which seems to be pointed out by the bend in the shore at No. 1, as having been in that spot; but if the Emporium were a public mart, as its name designates, it must be believed to have been beyond the bounds of the palace.

That I am correct in the position I have given to the Posidium,

is still more conclusively proved, by the Cæsarium being next mentioned, which was undoubtedly so named from the Temple of Cæsar, which stood in it, and before which, according to Pliny,* were two obelisks, a fact which precludes the possibility of our going to the west of Cleopatra's Needles for the site of the Cæsarium.

It was from the Posidium that Antony carried out a mole into the harbour, at the extremity of which he erected a palace, which he named Timonium, and to which, when deserted by his friends after the battle of Actium, he retired with a determination to spend the remainder of his life in solitude. The mole and palace are no longer distinguishable, but the harbour is in this part considerably filled by heaps of stones, among which some blocks of marble, and broken pieces of columns, are visible at low water.

From the manner in which Strabo mentions the Emporium, it was probably west of the Cæsarium; the temple of Cæsar may therefore have possibly formed a part of the palace; but if so, I conceive it must there have ended, and the public part of the city begun; for beyond it, to the Heptastadium, we only hear of the Apostases and the naval arsenals.

I have before observed, that the Heptastadium itself most probably commenced at the extremity of the street which ran from near the pillar of Dioclesian, by the present gate to an ancient square tower near the letter C, which the French have included within the lines that defend the new town of Alexandria. From that spot, therefore, the port of Eunostus must have commenced, although, now, the sand has much narrowed its limits. Of the buildings on its banks Strabo gives no account, but mentions the

* Lib. xxxvi. cap. 9.

small artificial harbour called Kibotus, whence a navigable canal extended to the Lake Mareotis. This appears to have been the same as the modern Calish, and at once points out its position, which is still more confirmed by the line of the great street ending at that very place, and by the numerous heaps of ruins which are discoverable there, though under the water. The tower at G has every appearance of having belonged to the original walls, and I am inclined to think, that the town extended no farther on the banks of the port, from the expression used by Strabo, that " without the canal, was a small part of the city." Beyond was the Necropolis, and still farther at a distance of thirty stadia, or three miles, was Nicopolis, which, at the time of Strabo, had drawn from Alexandria many of its inhabitants who attended the amphitheatre, the stadium, and the celebration of the five years games.

The ruins at 9, 10, 11, and 12 are by no means considerable, nor would it be easy to conjecture for what purpose they were intended. Some of the spaces were too small for a human body, even of an infant, but others were evidently intended for sepulchres, and were lined with a very hard plaister, of a red colour. The ruin at No. 10, was a single room, one hundred and five feet long, divided in the centre by a row of square pillars, and had been originally arched ; it had no connection with the water, but extended farther inland than we could trace the foundations.

According to Strabo, Alexandria was in breadth seven or eight stadia, which will preclude the idea of its not having contained the vast piles of ruin around Dioclesian's pillar, as any line drawn from the sea to the Calish within them, must greatly exceed that distance, nor could, in that case, the figure of a mantle, rounded at the

corners, be preserved. In defiance therefore of the weight which Professor White gives to the assertion of Macrobius, "that no town of Egypt had received within its walls a temple of Saturn or Serapis," I must believe that the original wall of Alexandria began near the tower at G, and extended in a gradual sweep, till it joined the Calish at the hills near A, which is kept along till it again bent up towards the Canopic gate at F, leaving without it the Hippodrome, which, Strabo says, with other buildings, extended from it to the Canopic canal. Of these very considerable remains are distinguishable on the map; and an open line by the letter B, parallel to the great street, seems to mark the street also mentioned by Strabo, as going from the Necropolis to the Canopic gate.

The real position of the Panium, with its lofty, conic form, and spiral staircase, or the Gymnasium celebrated for its porticos, I cannot venture to conjecture. The very foundations of the greater part of the ruins are now concealed by heaps of broken brick and mortar, which are only removed by the natives for the sake of procuring the broken marble columns, which they burn to lime, without any regard to their beauty or rarity.

Of the splendid buildings which once decorated the great street, a few columns only remain; two, near the gate of Rosetta, were of granite, with white marble capitals and pediments. At K was a very large brick building, which had formerly a colonnade in front, of yellow marble, with white capitals and pediments, one of which was uncovered by the native workmen while we were making the survey, and at S, three massive columns of red granite, with pediments and capitals of the same, have resisted the ravages of time, and of the still more destructive caprice of the present masters of the country.

The hills of rubbish undoubtedly conceal many fine remains of ancient art, and every day a few are brought to light. I observed a very beautiful sarcophagus of red granite, highly polished, lying level with the surface, near to the spot where the two great streets crossed each other. It was Grecian, ornamented with festoons of flowers, and perfect; I therefore sought out the owners, and purchased it from them for one thousand paras, although without any hopes of being able to carry it with me to England, but trusting that, on some future occasion, I might be more fortunate. The Turks and Arabs have no attachment to any of the splendid objects which still adorn their country, and excite the admiration of strangers. The French, had they been able to gratify their national vanity by carrying off, as they wished, the column of Dioclesian, would not have excited a single regret in the breast of any inhabitant of Alexandria; and they observed, with similar apathy, the preparations made by the English army, to remove the obelisk of Cleopatra to their native country, where it would have remained a perpetual monument of their victories. Knowing, as I well do, the indifference of the natives on this occasion, I cannot but regret that the plan was not carried into effect. Had they prided themselves on the possession of such a monument, the affair would have been different, and the reproaches cast against the French for their universal system of rapine, would have justly deterred the English army from doing any thing which could lead to a comparison between them.

Strabo only says of the Serapeum, that it was included within the canal that united the Kibotus and the Lake; but Professor White has, perfectly to my satisfaction, proved from the Grecian and Arabic authors, that the second library of Alexandria, which

was founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus, was called the Serapean, and formed a part of that edifice; that this library, when destroyed by the orders of the Calif Omar, was near to the column of the pillars, and that this column of the pillars was no other than the column formerly designated Pompey's, but now known to have been erected in honour of Dioclesian.

The extent of the ruins justifies us in believing the accounts which Rufinus and Ammianus Marcellinus have given of the splendor of the Serapeum. The elevation on which the pillar stands is not natural, but raised on arches, now filled with earth and rubbish, but altogether so hard, that I laboured in vain, with Arab workmen, and their imperfect instruments, to penetrate to any depth. Here might well have been the one hundred steps which led to the temple of the deity, and in front of which, in all probability, the column reared its head in unrivalled splendor, long before it was dedicated to a Roman emperor by a servile governor of Egypt. The temple was destroyed by Theodosius in the year 389, but the palaces and other buildings which were contiguous, still remained in the time of Edrisi, who, in 1153, speaks of a palace situated in the southern part of Alexandria, which was of an oblong square shape, having sixteen pillars at each end, and sixty-seven on the sides, the columns of which were still remaining, and at a northern angle, one of much greater magnitude than the others, which had a capital and pediments. This noble building, for whatever purpose it may have been destined, whether for the residence of the priests, or for the reception of the second library of Alexandria, augmented by the gifts of Antony to Cleopatra, at present can only be traced by the foundations or rather the rubbish of bricks and pottery which covers

them. Yet it may be no very hazardous conjecture to fix the site of it in the open space that is marked No. 2, 3, in the plan of the ruins. It is indeed possible that here may have been the temple of Serapis, and the palace may have been close to the column, but the descriptions of the Greek and Arabic authors are so vague, that it is impossible to do more than conjecture on the subject.

The column of Dioclesian has been described by every author; but the French, while in possession of Alexandria, at length ascertained its dimensions; to the English, however, they left the honour of decyphering the inscription, and of proving beyond controversy, that Dioclesian was the emperor to whom it was dedicated, and whose statue, on its summit, must have formed a most conspicuous object from every part of the country, and served as a still better land-mark than the pillar alone, which, nevertheless, is now a most useful guide to navigators approaching the low, sandy shore of Egypt. For several days Mr. Salt occupied himself in copying the inscription, giving the true shape to every letter, and marking its relative position to the others. This was done with less difficulty than we expected, for by applying chalk to all the rough indents, and then wiping over the whole lightly with a wet spunge, the white remained on the letters, but was washed from the polished surface, and the smaller hollows formed in the granite, by the wind from the sea. It is a most mortifying circumstance, that after having completed the work, I should not be able to present it to the public; but the paper is mislaid, nor can all my researches discover it. I can therefore only state, that in the last line the name of the exarch of Egypt was not Pompeius, for that the third letter of his name was undoubtedly a sigma. I cannot but express my astonishment

that so many learned men, who have visited Egypt, should have failed in making out the inscription. Pococke alone attempted to give any part of it, and was right in the two first letters of the name of Dioclesian, and the three first in the name of the dedicator. From the position of the pillar with respect to the sun, the inscription is sufficiently distinct for four hours each day, and the name of the Emperor is more perfect than any other.

The Circus, marked 6, 7, 8, is in length above seven hundred paces, the upper circular division is cut out of the solid rock, and has in the centre an elevation with a hole at one end. This was filled with sand, but I employed men to clear it out in hopes of finding some subterraneous chambers; but after descending gradually to the depth of about twenty feet, in a passage cut out of the solid rock, sufficiently spacious for a person to pass freely along it, I had the mortification to find my farther progress opposed by the natural barrier of rock. We examined the end, the top, bottom, and sides, with the greatest care, and were at length convinced that we had reached the extremity of the passage, and could only wonder, for what purpose it had been intended. The hill marked 9, seems to be in part a natural elevation, and may have given rise to Rhacotis being called a promontory. It is of nearly the same height as the spot on which Dioclesian's pillar actually stands.

Modern Alexandria is by no means an ill built town, and its situation is extremely pleasant between the two harbours. The trade is still considerable with the Levant, and hardly a day passed during our stay, without the arrival of a Greek vessel. The New Harbour is indeed nearly useless; and instead of the largest ships being able, as in the time of Strabo, to approach the steps, and

unload close to the wharfs, it is only in a small part of the harbour, near to the causeway of the Pharos, that the little vessels of the Turkish empire can find a shelter from the northerly winds, in from two to five fathom water. The climate is by no means unpleasant, as the heat is tempered in summer by the strong gales, which almost constantly blow from the north, and carry with them the thick black clouds that, after breaking on the mountains of the interior of Africa, return in the floods of the Nile to fertilize the plains of Egypt. It is only a knowledge of this that can reconcile its inhabitants to seeing them constantly pass over their heads without once falling in a refreshing shower.

The consuls of the European powers live together in tolerable amity, except when a war between their masters reduces them to the necessity of not visiting in public. The British and French Consuls General are indeed the leaders, and the rivalry between their countries rages with full force at Alexandria. Major Missett is a man admirably adapted for his situation. He is well acquainted with the chiefs who rule over the different parts of this once flourishing, but now distracted, country, knows their wants and wishes, and by a firm, but conciliatory, system of conduct, has baffled all the projects of the French, who still look back on Egypt with the steady determination of seizing on the first opportunity of re-conquering it. For this they have employed their emissaries in instigating the Beys against each other, and the Pacha against them all, and have thereby prevented tranquillity from being restored, which would, they justly think, preclude the possibility of their return.

At the convention of El Arish, they prepared to leave a force

in the country, by reporting that numbers had deserted into Upper Egypt: General Dongelet with the 22d and 85th demi-brigades had, in fact, retired thither without any intention of departing, and a whole train of artillery was buried in the sands of the Faiume, to be employed on a future occasion. The victorious army of Abercrombie secured a faithful evacuation of the country, but though their troops were driven away, their arts and intrigues remained. Sebastiani was first sent there, and the report he made of his success is so curious, that I have inserted it in the Appendix; but as it is nearly one tissue of falsehood, I have thought it right also to give a true account of his adventures, and I request the reader will compare them together.

Towards the latter end of October, 1802, the French frigate La Corneille, in company with a brig, entered the old port of Alexandria, and shortly afterwards Major General Stuart, the commander in chief of the British forces, received a letter from Sebastiani, expressing a wish to have an interview with him, in order to deliver a message from the First Consul. The General returned no written answer, but sent Major Missett, his secretary, to congratulate Colonel Sebastiani on his arrival, and to know at what time it would be convenient to him to land, as, in compliment to him, the quarantine regulations should not be enforced. The hour having been fixed, Major Missett, with an escort of dragoons, waited at the landing place for the Colonel, whom he conducted to head quarters. The customary honors were paid to him at every post near which he passed. The message from the First Consul to the British commander in chief was a demand that, in compliance with the treaty of Amiens, he should evacuate Alexandria: to which General Stuart replied,

that he had no orders to that effect from his government. Sebastiani then observed, that the General ought to consider the consequences of its being refused, as he must be aware of the inferiority of the British force in Egypt, and the consequently precarious safety of the troops in Alexandria, several of the forts being in the hands of the Turks. Justly irritated at so indecorous a behaviour, General Stuart abruptly put an end to the conversation, by declaring that were his force reduced to fifteen men, he would keep Alexandria, till ordered by his Government to evacuate Egypt. That day Colonel Sebastiani dined with Major General Stuart, and the conversation having naturally fallen on the antiquities of Egypt, the General observed, that the inscription on Pompey's pillar had lately been made out by some British officers; on which Sebastiani requested that Joubert, who acted as his interpreter, might have a copy of it. This was complied with, and some months afterwards, a paragraph appeared in the French papers, stating that Joubert had brought from Egypt an inscription which would determine at what period Pompey's pillar had been erected; but no notice was taken of the manner in which Joubert had obtained the inscription.

During his stay at Alexandria, Sebastiani received the most marked attentions from General Stuart: he was every day supplied with saddle-horses, and permitted to visit every spot within, as well as without the garrison, unattended by any British officer—a liberty of which he proved himself unworthy, by meanly holding private conversations with different soldiers of the foreign brigade, exhorting them to desert.

Soon after his arrival, Colonel Sebastiani had his audience of the Governor-General of Alexandria. General Stuart directed his in-

terpreter, Mr. Reggio, to mix with the crowd, and learn what passed. Fortunately, Mr. Joubert was so little qualified for the office of interpreter, that he could not translate the first compliments. The Governor, distressed, called out aloud, " Is there no one here who speaks Franks?" Reggio immediately stepped forward, and acted as interpreter to the French agent, who began by assuring the Governor of the First Consul's high regard for his nation, that he was extremely afflicted that the English continued in Egypt contrary to its desire, but begged him to rest assured that the French would soon oblige them to retreat. Sebastiani was perfectly satisfied with his interpreter. It was only when speaking of Reggio to the French at Cairo that he discovered the trick that had been played him.

Sebastiani had brought with him a large collection of the First Consul's portraits, which he sent to the different Arab Schechs in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, with the same message to each, " that the First Consul continued to have the most affectionate remembrance of the poor Schechs of Egypt, and particularly of the person to whom he sent.". The Schechs, who detested the French, and cared nothing for the present (a most ridiculous one certainly, and the sending of which shews a strange ignorance of their manners and prejudices), in general, returned no answer. One, however, replied, that it was impossible that the First Consul could have sent such a message to him, or have any recollection of him, for he had retired into the desert the moment the French arrived, and had not returned till the English landed.

At Cairo Sebastiani never visited a single Schech, nor did one visit him. Schech Abdallah Scherkowie, of the great mosque, never

was attached to the French, nor were any of his brethren, except Schech Soolimaun-el-Faiume. Sebastiani sent to this man to say he would pay him a visit; but the Schech, terrified lest the government should consider him as a friend of the French, sent to Mr. Rosetti to conjure him to induce the Colonel to keep away. So much for "the enthusiasm excited among the Schechs by the view of the portrait of the First Consul!" The account of the insult offered to him at Cairo, is equally false and ridiculous. Sebastiani was riding through the streets, with a Chaous of the Pacha before him, when he was met by Mustapha Aga, Akil, or Agent of the Porte in Egypt (procureur de la Porte). This man reproached the Chaous for being such a wretch as to ride before a Frenchman, who had brought so many evils on his country; not, as Sebastiani says, for marching before a Christian; and made his people beat the Chaous. Sebastiani instantly returned to the house of Mr. Rosetti, who was absent at Boulac, and sent, in the most pressing terms, to desire him to come to town. Rosetti, on his arrival, found Sebastiani pale as death, and excessively alarmed. He told Rosetti how he had been insulted, and said that he suspected it was a plan of the English to have him assassinated. He was therefore determined to depart instantly, and that he had sent to the Pacha to inform him of what had happened, but to declare that he did not wish any steps to be taken on the occasion. Rosetti blamed him for this, and said it was a business that ought not to be passed over: that Mustapha was a friend of his, and he would settle the business. Sebastiani still hesitated, and said that he feared the consequences. At length it was left to Rosetti, who saw the Pacha and Mustapha: it was agreed that the latter should make an apology to the Colonel, who was to

receive him graciously. Sebastiani on this became valiant: he wished to resent the affront on Mustapha's appearance, but Rosetti insisted on his keeping the terms agreed on, and they parted excellent friends. Nothing more passed.

Sebastiani never saw the Pacha, except in the presence of Mr. Rosetti. He never made any offer to him of mediation with the Beys; nor did the Pacha shew him his powers, nor enter into any political conversation with him. The usual compliments passed; but when Sebastiani said that it was his wish to visit the Beys in Upper Egypt, Mohammed Pacha most positively refused his consent, declaring that, in the present situation of affairs, it was a thing he could on no account permit; and insisting that he should pledge his word of honour to him, that, during his stay in Egypt, he would have no communication with them by letter, nor otherwise. With this Sebastiani complied; but on his return home he informed Rosetti that he had the First Consul's orders to offer the Mamelukes his protection, and that, therefore, as he could not go, he must write to them on the subject, and desired Rosetti to get it done. Rosetti, astonished, asked him if he had forgotten his honour so recently pledged: and finding that his argument had no effect, declined having any thing to do with a business which might end in the destruction of them both, should the letter be intercepted. This alarmed the Colonel, and the business was dropped for the present. When, however, Sebastiani arrived at Damietta, knowing that he should be safe before any thing could happen, he did write to the Beys, and sent the letter to Madame Murad Bey, who being afraid to meddle with the business, sent it to Mr. Rosetti, in whose possession it now is.

The assertion, that there was an attempt to excite the Albanians against him, is equally devoid of truth. There certainly was a report current, that the French were seen off Syria, and were coming to Egypt; but it was invented by the French themselves, and, Rosetti believes, by the orders of Sebastiani. This report was, at least, spread by him at Alexandria, where he officially notified to the Christians who waited on him, that they would not much longer be under the oppressive government of the Turks, for the French would soon be in Egypt. No letter was received from Rosetta on the subject; no person was summoned before him, nor was any communication made to the Pacha on the occasion.

General Stuart did indeed write to the Pacha, warning him not to credit the assertions of Sebastiani, that the English had hostile designs against Egypt, and apprizing, him of the real designs of France as exemplified by Bonaparté's proclamation. It was his duty so to do, as the representative of the British nation in Egypt, and consequently, the guardian of its interests and character: nor could any thing, except the habit of contemplating crimes, have led to an idea that this was "an attempt to instigate assassination." Had General Stuart been the dupe of Sebastiani, he would not have been thus accused, nor have been reported to the First Consul as a man of mediocre talents. It was wounded vanity, and bitter disappointment, which instigated both assertions; assertions which General Stuart has, I think with propriety, considered as unworthy of reply, for no one who knows him, even by the report of his whole conduct in Egypt, can believe him capable of the one, or deserving of the other.

In May 1803 the French establishment in Egypt was organized

under Mr. Lesseps, who succeeded in creating a mortal enmity between Osman Bey and Elfi Bey, by exciting the former to assassinate the latter, on his return from England, under an idea that he was come with a sufficient European force to place him at the head of the government. On finding afterwards that Osman Bey was inclined to throw himself upon the protection of the English, he bribed Mohammed Ali and Achmed Bey, two Albanian chiefs, to revolt from the Beys, and to drive them from Cairo. This scheme proved successful, and Egypt became, as the French government wished, divided under three masters. A detail of all the events which led to this, and of the different intrigues by which the revolutions were accomplished, would occupy a much greater space than my limits will allow. The result has been, that one of the finest countries on the globe is sinking under the severest oppression.

Mohammed Ali Pacha rules over lower Egypt from a little above Cairo to the sea, including the Delta, Damietta, and Rosetta; he is, decidedly, a man of talent, but is necessarily the slave of the undisciplined freebooters whom he ostensibly commands, and is obliged to plunder the defenceless natives, to gratify their rapacity; for his revenue is by no means equal to his expenditure, even with all the additions which requisitions from the Arabs, and exactions from the merchants, can bring into his coffers. The trade that was formerly carried on, through Egypt, with the interior of Africa, is now at an end, and even the commerce with Jidda is greatly diminished from the dread of the immoderate extortion under which the merchant labours.

Upper Egypt is in possession of the Beys, nominally under the command of Ibrahim Bey, to whom the title of Schech el Belled

belongs, but really under the influence of Osman Bey Bardessi, who is a man of talent, and the representative of the famous Murad Bey. As the government of the Beys was ever much more mild than that of the Turks, this province does not suffer so much from oppression as from the deprivation of every article which they were accustomed to receive from Lower Egypt, all trade with which has been cut off by Mohammed Ali.

Elfi Bey has possession of the Faiume, a fertile province, over which he tyrannises, and has extended his incursions to Damanour, which he might easily take, were he not afraid of sacrificing his Mamelukes in the assault, and thereby of comparatively diminishing his consequence with the other Beys. Many Albanians have deserted to him, and he has a very large Arab force, which he has influenced by the assurance that he is closely connected with England, and expects a large army from that country, to place him at the head of the government. Were Damanour to fall, Alexandria would be at his mercy, as he commands all the supplies of provision which come in from the desert. He, at one time, stopped every thing at the Peninsula, and obliged Emim Aga to consent secretly to his sending his officers into the town, to purchase cloth and other articles, for which he was in the greatest distress.

Excepting from the alarm excited by the plans of Elfi, Alexandria is in perfect tranquillity. The garrison consists of the Turkish soldiers, disciplined after the European manner, who are, in general, reasonable men. The export of such articles as Lower Egypt produces, still keeps the town and harbour alive, and a Christian can walk about the town, without fear or danger of insult. It is here alone that the Grand Signor can be said to reign.

How long the present system can be carried on, it is difficult to conjecture; poverty has already reduced thousands to the necessity of emigrating into the desert, and sacrificing every remnant of property for the chance of saving life itself. The Copts are earnestly looking forward in the hope of England's assistance, to liberate them from as dreadful an oppression as the children of Israel groaned under, in the same country; and even the Mussulmauns, of high rank, join them in their wishes, in defiance of the arts employed by Bonaparté, during his command in the country, to persuade them that he was the favourer of their religion, and the instrument of destiny, to liberate them from all their oppressions.*

Schech Soolimaun el Faiume, a descendant of Mohammed, a priest of one of the mosques of Cairo, and who, before the arrival of the French, had a revenue of above one hundred thousand pounds sterling per annum, arrived at Alexandria in the end of May, and requested I would call on him, which I immediately did. He represented to me, in the strongest terms, the sufferings of Egypt, and conjured me, by those feelings of compassion, which the view of oppression must have excited in my breast, to state what I had seen on my return to England. His feelings so far overcame his prejudices, that he obliged me to dine with him; and on taking leave he embraced me, and with tears in his eyes, again besought me to recommend him and his unfortunate country to the protection of the English.

The most powerful Schechs of the Desert, the chief of whom is Chedid, are closely attached to the English nation, and avow their

* As a proof of this, I have given in the Appendix, two interesting extracts from the Courier de l'Egypte.

destestation of the French, but, at the same time, declare that, if we will not protect them, so unsupportable is the yoke of the Albanians, that they will submit to any European power to get rid of it. The Beys have frequently offered either to hold the country subject to Great Britain; or, if we will assist them in driving away the Albanians, and placing them at the head of the government, that they will grant us such immunities and privileges as will, by placing the whole trade of the country in our hands, repay any expense we may incur. No answer has as yet been given, and the Consul General is obliged to act according to his own judgment, without having received a single instruction from home, by which he might regulate his conduct.

It is painful indeed to me to add, that the popularity of the English name has since vanished in Egypt, from the result of our late fatal expedition to that country; that, instead of the tranquillity which Alexandria then enjoyed, it is now a prey to the extortions of the Albanians; and that our friends the Arabs, instead of wishing for our re-appearance, are lamenting over the loss of their habitations levelled with the ground, of their wives and parents massacred in cold blood, and of their children sold to perpetual bondage. Deep, undoubtedly, were the curses with which we were followed from that shore, on which we were received with acclamations, and indelible is the disgrace which has fallen upon us for having abandoned our friends to ruin and destruction: yet the whole business has been passed over in England with indifference, and no inquiry has been instituted to ascertain to whom the blame of failure ought to attach, and on whom ought to alight the deep obloquy of having sullied the British arms, and disgraced the national character.

On the 4th of June we celebrated the King's birth-day with the greatest festivity, and with all the splendour that Alexandria could afford. A royal salute was fired at sun rise, at noon, and at sunset, from brass pateraroes in front of Mr. Briggs' house. The British flag was hoisted, and the populace were liberally regaled with coffee and sherbet, in the street before the door of the Consul General, while paras were thrown in profusion from the windows.

On the 5th I paid a farewell visit to Emim Aga, and in return for the numerous attentions I had received from him, requested his acceptance of a pair of richly ornamented pistols. I heard, in the evening, of the death of Signor Filippo Agnelli, at Rosetta. He was a very worthy man, and particularly skilful in preserving specimens of fish and birds. The composition he used was a mixture, in equal proportions, of white and yellow arsenic, and allum. He died of a fever brought on by imprudently bathing in cold water, after having fatigued and heated himself by dissecting an ostrich. I greatly regretted that the entire collection of Abyssinian birds would probably, by his sudden death, be lost to the public, as there was little hope that they could reach Vienna in a state to be preserved. I, however, wrote to Mr. Rosetti, as Consul General of the Emperor of Germany, requesting that he would lose no time in forwarding them, and the other things which I had entrusted to the care of Signor Filippo, to be presented in my name to his Imperial Majesty.

June 11.—In consequence of intelligence received by Major Missett, of a war being probable between Russia and the Porte, in which England would be involved, we were impatient to escape, and only waited till the northerly winds enabled us to do so. Our

friend, the Surbaje, meant to accompany us, as his declarations "that no man who had once been in the English service, would ever quit it," might call down on him the resentment of the Turkish government, should hostilities actually take place. In the morning, for the first time, we found that the climate of Alexandria could be oppressive; a sultry air came over the desert from the S. E. and warned us to depart. We took an early dinner with our amiable and able friend, the Major, and were afterwards accompanied by him, and the other Europeans, to the Old Port, where Emim Aga was in waiting to take his leave. In the course of the night every one got on board, and at three we sailed with a moderate breeze.

June 22.—Our fair wind continued only two days, when it came round to the west; and, as the Queen was a very bad sailer, uncoppered, and her masts too small, we made four points of lee-way and were even rejoiced in the evening, at finding we had made good a northerly course, by coming in sight of the mountains of Caramania, instead of Cyprus. Our stock of water was so short, that we determined to put into some place for a supply; this was chiefly owing to the number of passengers which the Captain had taken on board, consisting, besides my party, of Turks, horses, ostriches, antelopes, monkeys, jerboas, and parrots. These, with the live stock, consumed a great quantity of water, and rendered the ship very uncomfortable, though the Captain was a good creature, and would have kept them in better order if he could.

June 23.—Though we stood in for the land, during the night, we were in the morning twenty miles from it. A Neapolitan cook, whom I had hired at Alexandria, was alone acquainted with the

coast, and asserted, so positively, that the bay of Finica was to leeward, that the Captain, believing him, stood away for it, and got safely to an anchor by three o'clock in seven fathom. The bay is a good one, and was much frequented by the Russians during their last war with the Porte, in consequence of the facility with which water could be procured from a small stream, running into the sea, with a rapid and deep current. It is distinguishable, at a great distance, in consequence of the lofty hills which rise above it, the centre one having a sugar loaf point, rising out of a gradual swell. This marks the centre of the bay, and had still snow on its summit. To the eastward are some lofty, rocky islands, apparently two, which separate it from the gulf of Satalia: these lie more south of Cape Cheledoni than Heather has placed them in his chart of the Mediterranean. According to our observation, he has also laid down the bay twelve miles too far north, and the anchoring ground too near the islands, from which, in fact, it is distant about twelve miles. We sent on shore my servant and a Turk to visit a village, at a small distance, beautifully embosomed in trees, and to report what could be procured. They procured only a tunny fish and some unripe pears, but many promises were made for the morrow.

June 24.—We began early in the morning to take in water, which was done by floating the casks over the bar at the entrance of the river, and there filling them. The wind became south, for the first time, the moment it was of no use, and considerably alarmed us lest we should be imprisoned in the bay; for the Queen made four points, at least, of lee-way, so that to work out would be impossible. In the evening, however, we were relieved from our fears, by a regular land wind.

I was unwell, and therefore staid on board; but the rest of the party set off, after breakfast, for another village at the distance of four miles. On their return they reported that they had found the natives extremely civil, but averse from their seeing or speaking to their women; that their dress was Grecian and picturesque, their houses small and wretched: that the head man received them into his house, which consisted of one room only, and procured for them fowls, at twenty five paras each, goats at four or five dollars, and a buffalo and calf for ten dollars: honey, butter, eggs, clouted cream, apples, and apricots, were in abundance and reasonable; that the harvest was not got in, and that no grain was to be procured.

The jerboa which I had purchased with her young ones, a few days before I left Alexandria, escaped in the night soon afterwards, but I preserved two of the little ones till yesterday, by feeding them with milk; it is singular that, although at least twenty-four days old, their eyes had not then opened.

June 25.—Early in the morning a man came on board, who informed us that he belonged to a town, within sight to the eastward, whence grain and every article we wanted could be procured. Mr. Salt and the whole party determined to go with him there, and accordingly set off, but found the distance so great that they abandoned the journey, and reached the vessel about midnight. They met several parties of armed men, but received no molestation.

I landed myself towards evening, and visited the ruins of a Turkish fort that extend for a considerable distance, on a hill which forms the western side of the bay. Above it, I discovered the remains of a small temple, about twenty feet square, built of stones very neatly worked, but without any ornament that I could

discover. The door faced the sea, and in front of it was the pediment of a single column; the others might have been carried away to be employed in the erection of the fort. The side of the hill was covered with tombs which had been broken open in search of treasure. The inscriptions were in Greek characters, but most of them totally illegible. The scene must have been very beautiful when the small temple was uninjured, and the sarcophagi were probably shaded by lofty trees; at present the brow is nearly naked, except where a few stunted shrubs find nourishment in the crevices of the rock.

We next visited the vale below, where the soil was a black loam, on which the myrtle and oleander grew in the greatest luxuriance, but instead of the rich fields of grain which might be produced, were the country in tranquillity and properly protected, so far as I went inland, I could perceive nothing but a coarse grass except on the banks of the stream, where rushes grew.

July 29.—On the evening of the 26th of June we quitted the Bay of Finica, and kept close to the shore, to have the benefit of the land breeze. We passed Rhodes on the 2d instant, and Scarpanto on the 4th, between which and Gozo, we found the passage to be much wider than is laid down in Heather's chart, and the latter a much larger island. On the 5th we sailed along Candia in a smooth sea, being protected by it from the N. W. wind which prevailed. The snow still lay on the summits of the mountains, whence squalls came down occasionally, with considerable violence. On the 7th we lost sight of Candia, and the Captain persevered in running south, although we made but little westing, and there was every appearance of a gale of wind setting in from the

northward. On the 10th the gale came on, when we were in sight of Derna head, and obliged us to bear away N. E.; but for two days, in consequence of her sailing so ill, the Queen made only one mile of northing. When the gale abated, we got again in sight of Candia and of Gozo, distinguishable from the higher land behind it, by the difference of colour, which is of a reddish cast, while the mountains are of a deep blue, nearly approaching to black. After escaping from the narrow part of the Mediterranean, between Cape Derna and Candia, we found ourselves in a different climate: heretofore we had, invariably, winds from the north to west, but never, for above ten minutes at a time, did they come from the eastward. In fact, as regular a monsoon blows in the Levant during the summer months as in any part of the ocean. A gale of wind was generally foretold, as in the Red Sea, by a heavy swell and by some small black clouds, which rising visibly in the horizon, passed rapidly over the vessel. It always came from the north, and gradually veering to west, in about twenty-four hours subsided into a calm, when the swell became extremely disagreeable. On reaching the more open sea, the wind was more moderate, and the sky appeared dappled with many light coloured clouds, which were more stationary, and brought no wind with them. The weather became extremely pleasant, and on the 26th, for the first time, the wind came round to the eastward, and by ten o'clock this morning conveyed us to the port of Malta. Soon afterwards a boat was sent along side, empty, attached by a cord to another, in which were four men. We entered the former with our baggage, and were towed by the latter to the Quarantini, where we took up our abode in several very lofty stone apartments, with large windows looking

over the harbour. The whole building is of the same materials, and surrounds a quadrangle; it is built on the solid rock, with a flight of steps down to the water, and is kept exceedingly clean. The lower story is used to receive goods that are unclean.

August 11.—In consequence of its being known that no plague had existed in Egypt for three years, it was only for the sake of form that we were obliged to perform quarantine. Had a King's ship arrived under similar circumstances, she would have been immediately allowed pratique, or free access to the town, but this indulgence is under no circumstances granted to a merchantman. The Board of Health met, and sentenced us to confinement in the Lazaretto, for twenty days; but, in consideration of our clean bills of health, and long voyage, gave us two days of grace, and left it to the discretion of the captain of the Lazaretto to give us two more, if we all continued well. Our imprisonment was by no means a punishment after having so long been confined to a merchantman; the Governor, and many other gentlemen, paid us visits in the presence of an officer, whose duty it was to take care that they did not touch us, nor any article belonging to us, that could communicate infection. With books and newspapers we were plentifully supplied, and the luxuries of ice and fruit, to which we had long been strangers, assisted in consoling us for the want of permission to visit the town. This morning Sir Alexander Ball sent to inform me, that as the fleet would shortly sail for England, and as he understood that Captain Rudland wished to go in it, he would procure pratique for us in a few hours. This he did, and we immediately hastened to the Palace to return him thanks, and then took possession of some excellent apartments belonging to

Mr. Roviere, who obligingly lent them to me during my stay at Malta.

June 18.—Sir Alexander Ball exerted himself to shew me every thing that was interesting in the island. I attended him to the races, where the horses were ridden by boys without saddles and bridles, but the crowd was great, and the spectacle altogether gay and interesting. I also visited with him Citta Vecchia, in the middle of the island, which has a handsome cathedral, shining with gold and painting, but without a picture of any merit; and afterwards, a hunting seat of the Grand Master's, now used as a prison for the French officers. It is in a castellated form, and commands an extensive view of the island, broken into undulations, but ugly and unpleasing to the sight, from the want of timber. Near to the castle is a deep glen, which formerly was covered by a forest, but the French destroyed it, and a few ancient orange trees alone remain in the garden. The soil is a rich red clay, which would well pay the cultivation.

The knights of Malta, when sovereigns of the island, were as willing to keep it dependent on other countries for its supplies, as they were for their revenues; they consequently discouraged agriculture, and even looked with a jealous eye on the commercial attempts of their subjects, whom they were willing to feed well, that they might increase in numbers, but whom they by no means wished to become affluent. Malta produced a supply of grain for three months only, the residue was imported, and the Order had always sufficient for the consumption of a year, in their granaries.

Since the expulsion of the French, by the exertions of the natives, assisted by a British force, every thing has been greatly changed,

Barbary being now in friendship with the inhabitants, affords abundant supplies; and the impossibility of a Turkish siege, or of the policy of foreign states inducing an attempt to starve the island, precludes the necessity of great magazines. From Sicily small vessels arrive daily with the produce of that island; but the most valuable article procured from it, is snow from mount Etna, which not only is a luxury to the rich, but an invaluable medicine in the hospitals. The Maltese, under the protection of the British flag, are rapidly rising in prosperity, by the success of their commercial speculations, and every inch of their little island will soon be cultivated like a garden. Sir Alexander Ball has wisely established a botanic garden, and actively exerts himself to procure every article which he thinks will flourish, and add to the comfort or luxury of the inhabitants. He, at the same time, conciliates the minds of the higher orders, by those attentions, which the suavity of his manners renders still more irresistible; and he attaches to his government the lower orders, by a proper attention to their innocent prejudices.

The French name is held in universal detestation on account of the severities they exercised, after the island was blockaded. On one occasion they made a sortie from Citta Vittorioso, and surprised the inhabitants of a neighbouring village, in the market place. They immediately put to death, men, women, and children; but a few who escaped, gave notice to the surrounding villagers, who intercepted them in their retreat, and put them all to the sword. After this, the indignation was so great throughout the island, that Sir Alexander Ball was obliged to offer a reward for every Frenchman brought in alive, to prevent their being put to death.

Towards the land, La Valetta is perfectly impregnable, and

justifies the observation of Bonaparté, when he entered it, " that it was fortunate there was some one within to open the gates for him." In the hands of the masters of the sea, it is an invaluable possession. Its harbours afford protection from every wind, and its dockyards furnish supplies for a fleet, at a smaller expense than they can frequently be procured in England; while its fresh provisions, fruit and vegetables, insure health to the seamen. As a naval station it protects the trade of the Levant, and renders the secret approach of a hostile squadron towards any part of the Turkish dominions, nearly impracticable; and so long as Great Britain preserves it, the gigantic plans of Bonaparté in the Mediterranean can never be carried into effect, nor can he impress, on the Barbary Powers, that idea of his importance, which is necessary to induce them to abandon all connection with us. As trade increases, the island will become a depot for the woollens, cottons, and hardware of England, which will be thence carried away, to all the surrounding coasts, by the vessels of the inhabitants. This will greatly increase the revenue, and soon render Malta a profit instead of an expense; even at present the necessary civil expenses are but small, and but little, if at all, exceeding the revenue. Malta requires only four thousand men for a garrison, but that number has generally been exceeded, not for the use of the place, but as a valuable and healthy depot, whence they could be removed to any place where their services are required. This cannot be considered as part of the expense of Malta.

I was very much struck with the magnificent church of St. John, which still preserves the monuments of the illustrious Masters of the Order. The silver rail of the altar, and the lamps have, indeed,

disappeared, the invincible Bonaparté having carried them with him to Egypt. The pavement is nearly covered by a beautiful mosaic, composed of the arms of the different knights who lie underneath. The revenues of the church are still continued to it, and its splendour must remain stationary, a monument of the power of the Order, and of its having passed away for ever.

The library is a handsome building, and has a very valuable collection of books. It was accumulated from the private libraries of the different knights who died on the island, to whom the Order was heir. It also received, as presents, most of the splendid works which were published by the Catholic sovereigns of Europe. It contains about eight thousand volumes, and is chiefly deficient in English literature. It would be politic, as well as liberal, to appropriate a moderate annual income to remove the deficiency. The Maltese should not be permitted to discover, in any one respect, an inferiority in their present sovereign to their last. The splendor of their capital should be, by every means, increased, and not diminished. The present arrangements for the use of the books is inconvenient, access to them being allowed only from nine to twelve, during summer. There is a small collection of medals annexed to the library, and some antiques of value, which are the more interesting, from having been found on the island. These, as well as the furniture of the palace, and every other article of value, would, probably, have been carried to Paris, had it not been for the closeness of the blockade, which precluded all retreat, till the capitulation put an end to the power of plundering.

The Maltese are frugal, temperate, and industrious. They proved themselves brave soldiers, during the blockade of La Valletta, when

about three thousand of them were under the command of Sir Alexander Ball. They are as good seamen as any in the Mediterranean, and are rapidly improving by their connection with the English. During the voyage, I found them lively and good-humoured, and was frequently entertained by the different games which occupied their time in moderate weather: they did not often quarrel, and when they did their shirts suffered more than their bodies. Their attachment to their religion is bigotted, and, consequently, their reverence for their priests. It was by plundering their churches, that the French roused them to resistance, after they had quietly submitted to the yoke which the treachery of their Grand Master had brought upon them. If this should prove a warning to Great Britain, she runs no risk of losing the island. The priests, indeed, are, doubtless, some of them attached to the French, and would wish a Catholic to possess the island; but, in general, they are satisfied with the respect with which their religion is treated, and would hesitate to accept a nominally religious despotism, when united with civil slavery, which they have too much reason to believe would be the case, were they again to become the subjects of Bonaparté.

August 24.—A fleet of transports having arrived from Sicily, where they had landed troops, and being about to return, nearly empty, to England, Sir Alexander Ball procured for me the cabin of the Diana, Captain Lamb, and an order for the conveyance of all my baggage. She was said to be the best sailer among them, and the Captain was a very civil, worthy man. My preparations were soon made, and this day we all embarked, after having parted with regret from Sir Alexander, who had, by his uniformly kind attentions, added greatly to the satisfaction I experienced at again finding

myself in a civilized country. The fleet was convoyed by Captain Mowbray in the Active frigate. It was an additional pleasure to me to discover, that he was brother to my friend, Captain Mowbray, whom I had known at Ceylon, as aid-de-camp to Mr. North. I dined on board his ship, as we were obliged to lay to, all day, for some transports which were not ready for sea.

September 17.—After a pleasant passage, we on this day reached Gibraltar, having on our way seen Sicily, Sardinia, several of the capes of Africa, and, at length, the coast of Spain, along which we ran from near Carthagena. On the 1st we had a stiff gale from N.W. but in general, the weather was fine, and the Diana sailed so well that we had the pleasure of being always near to the Active, and frequently went on board her, while both vessels lay to for the rest of the convoy to come up. On the last day we had a fine breeze from the eastward, which lasted us till we got round Europa Point late in the evening, when it died away.

September 26.—Early in the morning, after my arrival, I landed, and went to pay my compliments to General Drummond, the acting Lieutenant Governor, who very politely offered me the use of the Convent, which is the official residence of the Governor, an offer which I willingly accepted, for Gibraltar is too crowded to afford much accommodation for strangers. I was considerably indisposed, and unable to visit many of the works, but, occasionally, rode with the General to view the different spots which have been cultivated by the garrison. The extent of ground, laid out in gardens, excited my surprise, and the beauty of several of the country-houses well repaid the labour of getting at them. The most beautiful belongs to the Navy Commissioner, Captain Middleton; it is situated on the

southern part of the rock, and is embosomed in a grove of large trees.

The intercourse between the Spaniards and the garrison is permitted, in consequence of the advantages which both receive from it. The Spanish officers obtain permission, daily, to come into the town, to purchase articles which are contraband, particularly tobacco, of which the King of Spain has a monopoly, and which, in consequence, sells at ten shillings a pound. The Governor of Andalusia himself, sometimes comes in to pay his compliments to the General, when he always requests permission to take a walk in the town unattended, confessing that he and his party want to make some purchases. Even a relation of the Prince of Peace condescended to come in, on the same errand, a few days before I arrived. The trade between Algeziras and the garrison is carried on with the connivance of both parties, and the boats from the former arrive every morning with fruit, vegetables, and fresh meat; they are supposed to carry back money, but, in reality, their cargo consists of British manufactures and colonial produce. It is said that Bonaparté has taken offence at this amicable arrangement, and the Spaniards have hinted, that if the present negotiations do not terminate in a peace, they shall be obliged to put an end to it.

A perpetual war exists in the bay, between the Spanish gun-boats and the English ships of war; not that the former wish for fighting, but they are perpetually attacking the merchant vessels, and Barbary boats which are, of course, protected, but frequently the current carries them across to the Spanish coast, where they become a sure prey to the enemy's small craft, or to the batteries which line the shore. Some gun boats had even the impudence to attempt to

cut a merchant vessel out of the harbour, while I was there. The garrison consists of six thousand men, who would be healthy, were it not for the cheapness of wine, which leads to a perpetual state of intoxication. By the regulations of government, spirits are scarcely procurable for money. The Spanish army is said to be in the greatest distress, for want of pay, but they bear it admirably.

In consequence of the wind coming round to the east, I was obliged to hurry on board the Diana, which soon afterwards set sail, with the rest of the fleet, under convoy of the Athenienne. We passed the Straits before it was dark, with a stiff gale from the eastward, and as we kept close to Africa, had an opportunity of admiring its beautiful hills covered, in part, with woods, beyond which were lofty mountains.

September 27.—By day break we were up with Lord Collingwood's fleet, off Cadiz. The Neptune, Captain Fremantle, was appointed to convoy us to England; and the Captain was so obliging, on my stating to him that I was severely indisposed, as to give me a passage in his ship, where I experienced every kindness from him, and every medical assistance from Mr. Nagle, the surgeon.

On the 24th of October, after a tedious passage, with frequent gales towards the latter end, we came to an anchor at St. Helen's, but, notwithstanding our impatience, we were not permitted to land till the 26th, when I went on shore at Portsmouth, after having been absent from England, four years and four months.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

I.

Report made to the French Consul by Colonel Sebastiani, extracted from the Moniteur of the 30th of January, 1803.

On the 2d of October I set out from Tripoli, and on the 16th arrived at Alexandria: the same day I waited upon General Stuart, commandant of the English forces by land and sea. I communicated to him the order of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, which enjoined me to proceed to Alexandria, and if the English still occupied that place, to demand a speedy evacuation, and the execution of the treaty of Amiens. General Stuart then told me, that the evacuation of the place would shortly be effected; but seeing that I insisted, and that I desired an answer less vague, he declared to me, that he had no orders from his Court to quit Alexandria, and that he even believed he should pass the winter there. General Stuart is a man of *mediocre* talents: he has for his aid-de-camp a French emigrant, called the Chevalier de Sades, a man of talent, and an enemy of France, who has much influence over the General. I went the same day to see Khourchid-Ahmid, the Pacha of Alexandria, and the Capitan Bey, commander of the forces of the Ottoman Porte. After the customary compliments, and some language agreeable to the Sublime Porte, I announced to them, that the agents of French commerce would assemble in Egypt. This communication gave them the greatest pleasure, and they did not con-

ceal that they saw with grief the stay of the English in the country. I told them, that their stay could not be much longer, and that the general peace left no doubt of their approaching departure. On the 17th I visited the Cheik El-Messiry. The same day I also visited the Cheik Ibrahim Mufti. On the 18th I visited the Coupure du Khalidj, which has formed the lake Mareotis. The current of the waters of the lake Madie is still very strong, and if the Porte does not make haste to re-establish this important canal, the overflows which take place on the little tongue of land that separates the two lakes, will render the opening so considerable, that it will be impossible to travel. I do not think that the Swedish engineer sent by the Porte to direct these labours, has the necessary talents. The formation of the lake Mareotis appears to have contributed to the salubrity of the air. The city has no other water than what it draws from the wells of Marabouf. This little fort I found guarded by an English and Turkish garrison, in order to protect the inhabitants who came to draw water. I employed the day of the 19th in perambulating the town, and receiving different individuals who came to visit me. On the 20th, I set out for Cairo, escorted by two Turkish officers, and six French soldiers, whom I had taken on board the frigate, but contrary winds obliged me to return to the port. The next day I was at Aboukir, where I passed the night. I profited by this opportunity to visit the fort, which is in a very ruined state. On the 22d I arrived at Rosetta, after having visited the fort Julien; I saw the same day Osman, Aga and Duvanny of the town, as well as all the Christians who reside there. The 23d I was at Faone, where I visited the Commandant of the place, the Cadi, and the Cheiks; I received from the latter, and from all

those whom I entertained, protestations of attachment to the First Consul. I passed the next day at Ralimanie, where I visited the Cheik Muhammed Abou-Aly; the fort of the town is almost entirely destroyed. I visited on the 25th, at Menouf, the Cheik Abdin, whom the First Consul had appointed Cadi. The other Cheiks of that town who came to visit me, held the same language as those of Faone. I said to them, 'The First Consul loves your country much, he speaks of it often; he interests himself in your happiness; he did not forget you, and recommended you to the Porte. He has made peace with Europe, and this country will feel the interest which he takes, and the recollection which he has preserved of the poor Cheiks of Egypt.'—Muhammed Kachef-Zourba Matzellem, who commanded at Menouf on my journey through that town, has been beheaded in consequence of being accused of communications with the Mamelouks. The two forts of Menouf are destroyed. I arrived the same day at Boulak. I sent immediately Citizen Joubert to inform the Pacha of Cairo of my arrival. The next morning, the 26th, the Pacha sent three hundred cavalry and two hundred infantry, commanded by the principal officers of his household, to accompany me to him, amidst a great many discharges of artillery. Having arrived at the Pacha's, I said to him, 'Peace has been concluded between the French Republic and the Sublime Porte: the ancient relations of amity and commerce have been re-established, and I am charged by the Great Consul Bonaparté, to assure you of his benevolence, and to announce to you the arrival of commissaries of the French commerce in Egypt.' The Pacha answered me, 'the benevolence with which the First Consul has honoured me, penetrates me with gratitude, and his

commercial agents shall meet here the most friendly reception.' I proceeded then to the house which the Pacha had prepared for me. I received the same day the visits of all the principal men of the country, and of the Copt Intendants. On the 27th I again repaired to the Pacha, with whom I had a long conference. I spoke to him in these words: 'the First Consul takes in you, and the country you govern, a very lively interest, and desires to contribute to your happiness; he has charged me therefore to offer you his mediation, in order to make peace between you and the Beys.'

The Pacha thanked me warmly and sincerely for the interest which the First Consul took in his behalf, but he protested to me that he had the most positive orders from his Court to make a war of extermination upon the Beys, and not to enter into any arrangement with them. I observed, that the unfortunate circumstances which had happened to the Ottoman troops (they had been beaten five times successively by the Mamelouks), rendered their position very critical, and that obstinacy exposed them to the loss of the province. He then communicated to me the order of the Porte, and I saw beyond a doubt that it was not possible for him to enter into any accommodation. I informed him that I intended to visit the different Cheiks of Cairo, and also Madame Murad Bey, and to inspect the environs and fortifications of the city. He ordered immediately that the guard which he had sent should accompany me wherever I wished to go, informing me, that he would use every means in his power to render my stay at Cairo agreeable.—The same day I commenced my visits, beginning with the Cheik Abdallah-el-Sherkowi, of the great mosque. As I was expected by him, he had assembled a considerable number of Cheiks. The conversation

turned upon the interest which the First Consul took in Egypt, on his power, his glory, and on his esteem and benevolence for the learned Cheiks of Cairo. Their answers expressed their attachment to his person. He must have been a witness like myself to the enthusiasm excited at the view of the portrait of the First Consul, to form an idea of the exaltation of their sentiments. I have given it to all the principal Cheiks of Cairo, and of the towns where I have travelled.—On the 28th I invited the Cheik Omar El-Berky, Prince of the Shiriss; he was ill, and I saw only his son.—The Cheik Suleiman El-Faiume received me with much friendship, and assured me of his boundless admiration for the First Consul.—The Citizens Joubert and Beye have certified to me that the inhabitants of Cairo never testified so much attachment to France as on my arrival.—When we pass along the streets, every body salutes us. Their astrologers make predictions every day as to what concerns the First Consul.—On the 29th, I went to visit Madame Murad Bey: her intendant had already prayed of me that I would grant her an interview. I informed her, that the First Consul had charged me to interpose my mediation, in order to make their peace with the Sublime Porte; but that the Pacha had ordered that no negociation should be entered into.—I employed that day and the following in visiting the citadel, the Isle of Roda Gize, Boulak, and all the other little forts which surround the city. The Turkish soldiers murmured to see me visit their forts, but I feigned not to hear them, and continued my course and my observations.

On the 29th, in returning to Fort Dupuy, a soldier menaced me with his attagan; but as the inhabitants of the city testified highly their indignation against him, I did not stop at his menaces, and

continued my route. A moment afterwards Mustapha Oukil, one of the chiefs of the city, passed before me on horseback. In passing, he reproached my guides with marching before a Christian, and above all, before a Frenchman, and menaced them with the bastinado after my departure. I could not be silent under such an insult; and upon my return I sent Citizen Joubert to the Pacha, to make my complaint, and demand a prompt redress. I declared to him that I expected this man would come publicly to me to ask my pardon, place himself at my disposal, and implore my pity. He found that Mustapha was greatly protected by the Pacha, and wanted to arrange it otherwise; but I persisted by declaring formally to the Pacha, that if this reparation was not made in the manner in which I demanded it, I should instantly depart, and immediately write to Paris and Constantinople to state my complaint. This declaration produced all the effect which I expected; and Mustapha, alarmed, came on the following day to me, conducted by Rosetti, and he publicly asked my pardon, and put himself at my disposal. I told him that my first intention had been to cut off his head, and that I only gave him his life at the solicitations of the Pacha and M. Rosetti; but if in future he should ever insult the French, or those in their suite, his destruction would be inevitable. This affair, which was instantly spread throughout the whole city, produced the best effect.—The same day an attempt was made to excite the Albanese against me. Two letters from Rosetta, written by English protegées, declared that there had been seen upon the coasts of Natolia a French fleet of three hundred sail; that we were marching against Constantinople, and that my visit to Egypt had no other object but to deceive them, and blind them to their danger. I made the merchant

come to me who had received the letter; I made him give it me—I instantly sent it to the Pacha himself, telling him that this absurd news was spread to occasion disorders, and to endeavour to alter the good understanding which existed between France and the Sublime Porte; and I guaranteed the falsehood of it with my head. The Pacha had discovered the snare, and did not fall into it. He even communicated to me a letter from General Stuart, which he had just received, and to which was joined an order of the day, of the First Consul, when he commanded the army of Egypt; this order of the day was dated in August 1799, and recalled to the recollection of the Egyptians, that Constantinople was tributary to Arabia, and that the time was now come to restore Cairo to its supremacy, and to destroy the Eastern Empire of the Ottomans. General Stuart begged the Pacha to consider the spirit of that order, and to judge from it of our attachment, and of our peace with the Turks. I was indignant to find that a soldier of one of the most polite nations of Europe should degrade himself so far as to instigate assassination by means of such an insinuation. The Pacha treated me with the greatest politeness, and the English at Cairo were witnesses of the attachment of that city to the French.

I received a deputation from the monks of Mount Sinai, whom I recommended to the Pacha: I wrote to their Superior, to assure them of the friendship and protection of the First Consul. The monks of the Propaganda at Cairo, whom I placed under the national protection which they enjoyed before the war, celebrated a Te Deum for the prosperity of the First Consul. I assisted at this ceremony, at which all the Christians at Cairo were present. The evening before my departure (the 2d of November) I had another

interview with the Pacha, and recommended all the Christians of Cairo to his protection, as well as the Turks who, during the residence of the French in Egypt, were connected with them. He not only promised to respect them, but even to treat them with bounty. On the 3d, I set out in a conveyance of the Pacha's, in order to repair to Damietta. The Pacha ordered me to be escorted to Boulak, with the same honours that I received on the day of my arrival. I had written to Captain Gourdain, to repair to Damietta with the frigate, in order to convey me to Syria. On the 5th I stopped a short time at Sinenoud, and afterwards at Mansoura, where I saw the Commandant of the city, and the Cheik Esseid Muhammed-el-Chenaoni, who came to see me, as well as all the other Cheiks. I spoke to them in the same manner as the other Cheiks of Egypt, and received the same promises of attachment. The tower of Mansoura is destroyed. The same day I arrived at Damietta. The next day I went to Ahmed-Pacha-Behil, a creature of the Grand Vizier's; he returned my visit the same day. He conducted himself perfectly well to me during my stay in that city.

On the 7th I went to visit the fort of Lesbé, and the towers of Bogaz. They have not continued the works of that fort, which is in a bad state: those of Bogaz are in a good condition. There is a garrison of two hundred men in the fort and in the towers. On the 8th I received the visit of Hassan Toubar: his influence over the inhabitants of Menzalé is still the same. On the 9th I went to Seninie, where I saw the Cheik Ibrahim-el-Behlout, he who behaved so well to the French under the orders of General Vial, when they were taken and imprisoned. The First Consul had exempted his village from all contributions. I saw all the Cheiks at Damietta,

particularly Ali Khasaki, whom the First Consul had invested with a pelisse: he is possessed of great credit, and is much attached to the French. There are at Damietta two Christians, who are men of merit, and may be very useful to us: they are M. Bazile and Don Bazile. They are possessed of good information, have very considerable fortunes, and are very highly respected. In Egypt, chiefs, merchants, people, all like to talk of the First Consul—all offer up prayers for his happiness. All the news which concerns him spreads from Alexandria or Damietta to the pyramids and the grand cataracts with astonishing rapidity. On the 14th the frigate arrived at Bogaz from Damietta: I immediately set out for Acre, at which place I arrived on the 19th.

II.

Extract from Le Courier de L'Egypte, No. 21. 25 Frimaire, 7 Année de la République.

On dit, parmi les Musulmans du Caire, qu'un saint personnage a été informé par une révélation d'une conférence qui a eu lieu entre Mahomet et le Destin. Le crédit qu'a obtenu le récit de cette révélation nous détermine à le consigner dans cette feuille.

Lorsque Mahomet vit la flotte Française approcher les côtes de l'Egypte, il alla chez le Destin et lui dit : *ò Destin, tu es ingrat, je t'ai fait souverain arbitre du monde, et tu veux livrer aux Français la plus belle des contrées soumises à ma loi. Le Destin lui répondit: ò Mahomet, le decret est porté ; il faut qu'il s'accomplisse ; les Français arriveront sur la terre d'Egypte, et en feront la conquéte, je n'ai plus le pouvoir de l'empêcher: mais écoute, et console toi, j'ai décidé, que ces conquérants se feront Mahométans.* Mahomet, pleinement rassuré par cette réponse, se retira trés-satisfait.

Il se trouve dans la ville du Caire huit devins de réputation. Les habitans du pays les consultent souvent et reçoivent leurs réponses avec une foi entière ; on a remarqué depuis quelque temps que toutes leurs prédictions sont favorables aux Français.

III.

Extract from Le Courier de l'Egypte. No. 23. 9 Nivose, 7 Année de la République.

Proclamation du Général Bonaparté aux Habitans du Caire.

DES hommes pervers avoient égaré une partie d'entre vous; ils ont péri. Dieu m'a ordonné d'être miséricordieux pour le peuple. J'ai été clément et miséricordieux envers vous.

J'ai été fâché contre vous de votre révolte, je vous ai privé pendant deux mois de votre divan; mais aujourd'hui je vous le restitue: votre bonne conduite a effacé la tache de votre révolte.

Schérifs, Ulemas, Orateurs des Mosquées, faites bien connaître au peuple que ceux qui de gaité de cœur se déclareroient mes ennemis, n'auront de refuge ni dans ce monde ni dans l'autre. Y-auroit-il un homme assez aveugle pour ne pas voir que le Destin lui-même dirige toutes mes operations? Y-auroit-il quelqu'un assez incrédule pour revoquer en doute que tout dans ce vaste univers est soumis à l'empire du Destin?

Faites connaître au peuple, que depuis que le monde est monde, il étoit écrit qu'après avoir détruit les ennemis de l'Islamisme, fait abattre les Croix, je viendrais du fond de l'Occident remplir la tâche qui m'a été imposée. Faites voir au peuple que dans le saint livre du Koran, dans plus de vingt passages, ce qui arrive a été prévu, et ce qui arrivera est également expliqué.

Que ceux donc que la crainte seule de mes armes empêche de

nous maudire, changent ; car en faisant au ciel des vœux contre nous, ils sollicitent leur condamnation ; que les vrais croyans fassent des vœux pour la prospérité de nos armes.

Je pourrais demander compte à chacun de vous des sentimens les plus secrets de son cœur ; car je sais tout, même ce que vous n'avez dit à personne ; mais un jour viendra que tout le monde verra avec évidence que je suis conduit par des ordres supérieurs, et que tous les efforts humains ne peuvent rien contre moi : heureux ceux qui de bonne foi sont les premiers à se mettre avec moi !

THE END.

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